

NOVEMBER 8, 2004

# The American Conservative

## THE CONSERVATIVE CASE

**For Bush  
For Kerry  
For Nader  
For Peroutka  
For Badnarik  
For Not Voting**



# 14 MILLION MIDDLE CLASS JOBS ARE NOW AT RISK OF BEING OUTSOURCED OVERSEAS. IS YOURS ONE OF THEM?

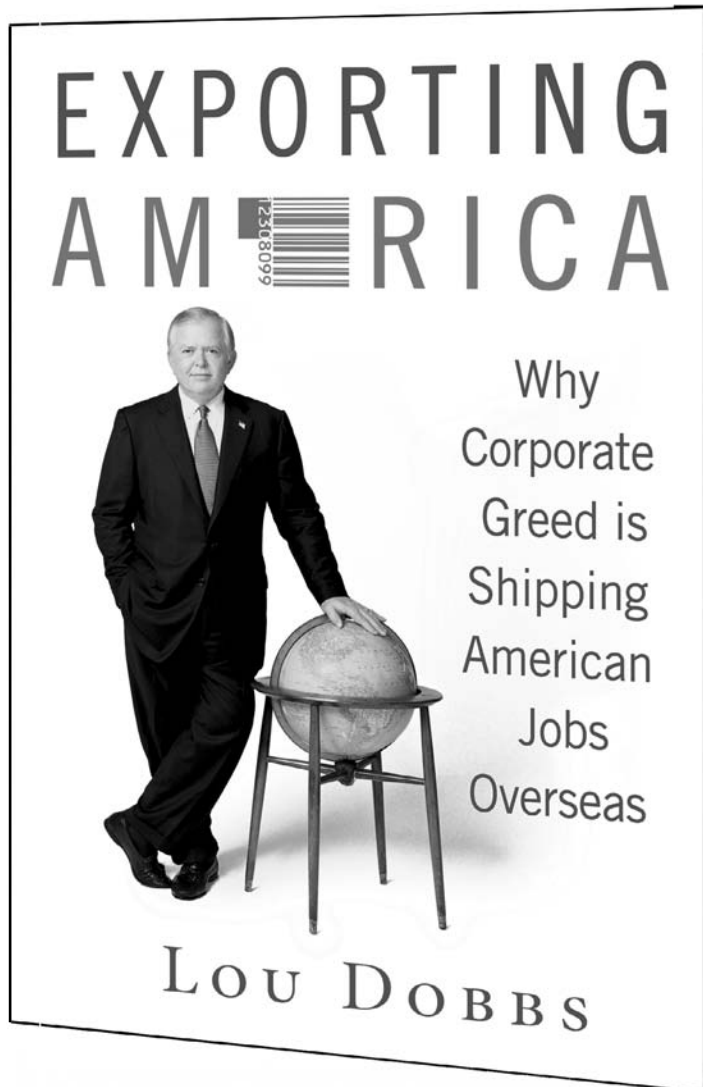
**R**enowned business journalist and CNN anchor Lou Dobbs takes aim at the corporate executives and Washington politicians who profit by exporting US jobs overseas—and shows what you can do to protect your own career.

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[ ENDORSEMENT ]

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[IDEAS]

## MUGGED BY REALITY

Read and weep over the magisterial piece in the latest *Foreign Affairs* by Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson. It describes in compelling language how American foreign policy benefited from a sense of “international legitimacy” over the past 60 years and how quickly the Bush administration has squandered it. The United States used to resist those who transgressed international law. Tucker and Hendrickson quote Justice Robert Jackson at Nuremberg, who emphasized that the reason the Nazi war criminals were on trial was “not that they lost the war, but that they started it.” The two quite plainly point to the “neoconservatives responsible for this startling loss of legitimacy.” The United States, they lament, has already reached a tipping point at which the world sees us as the kind of rogue nation against which the U.S. used to fight.

Striking too was the fact that Robert Tucker co-authored this essay. In the 1970s, Tucker’s work was often the lead piece in the very neoconservative *Commentary*. He has since joined the legion of first-rate intellectuals who have turned away from neoconservatism since the end of the Cold War and now view the group as a wrongheaded faction that has set the United States down a dangerous and lonely path. Among important “ex-neoconservatives,” count Tucker, Owen Harries, Francis Fukuyama, Samuel Huntington, and the late Daniel Patrick Moynihan. We could add many more, including those who harbor a deeply held private disgust at the neocons but keep silent out of fear of losing conservative establishment jobs. One writer recently likened neocon writing to producing editorials for *Pravda* in 1983. They might have had power and cozy, well-paid sinecures, but few people believed in what they were writing—not even, perhaps, the authors themselves.



[CULTURE]

## IF THESE WALLS COULD SPEAK

Abe Foxman and the Anti-Defamation League have won another historic battle against bigotry. Or at least they might think so. Seems that a courtroom in Riverside California had engraved on a mahogany wall the following quotation from Theodore Roosevelt: “The true Christian is the true citizen.” Well, the ADL clearly couldn’t let this bit of hate speech stand and began writing letters expressing great concern to powerful people. Soon enough, Riverside County saw the light and covered up the noxious words with a wood panel. During “historical tours” when the court is not in session, the panel can be removed. You know, so people can see what America was like in the bad old days before the ADL was busy rooting out prejudice.

[POLITICS]

## BOMB IRAQ FOR BEIRUT?

Ah, memories. There was a time when presidents believed that the appropriate response to terrorist attacks was to strike back against the actual terrorists. Ronald Reagan from the Oct. 28, 1984 presidential debate, in response to Walter Mondale’s criticism that he had not properly avenged the bombing of the Marine barracks in Beirut: “[W]e are busy trying to find the centers where these operations stem from and retaliation will be taken, but we are not going to simply kill some people to say, oh look, we got even. We

want to know when we retaliate that we’re retaliating with those who are responsible for the terrorist acts.”

[POSTWAR]

## DRUGS UP, BOOZE DOWN

“Post-invasion chaos blamed for drug surge,” read the headline in the *Los Angeles Times*. Surge is right—the story reports that Afghanistan’s poppy production is set to reach a record high this year, up 60 percent from the 2003 levels. The State Department’s Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Agencies believes that there are now some 250,000 acres of Afghan soil producing opium poppies. Under the Taliban, the peak had been 160,000 acres.

Meanwhile drug trafficking is on the rise in Iraq as well, as an amphetamine-like drug pours across the border from Syria. How is Iraq responding to this new threat? According to the *Times*, Islamic militants are cracking down—on legitimate liquor vendors. These are mainly Christians who under Saddam Hussein were not forced to comply with Islamic strictures against alcohol. Predictably, a black market is flourishing as legal merchants get out, fearing for their lives. Says one illicit booze seller quoted by the *Times*, “The problems of others are our benefits.” Out with the beer and wine, in with the bathtub gin and opium. Is this what the neocons had in mind when they proposed to bring the blessings of democracy to the Middle East and Central Asia?



[IMMIGRATION]  
**BORDERLESS  
 HOMELAND**

Forget the campaign-trail chatter about securing and modernizing our borders to keep Americans safe from terror. When House Republicans actually included effective immigration-control provisions in their intelligence-reform legislation, drafted in response to the 9/11 commission's report, the Bush administration asked that they be removed.

The House bill would set national standards to make it more difficult for illegal immigrants to obtain drivers' licenses, expedite deportation, and restrict federal acceptance of foreign consular IDs. The open-borders lobby claims this is a gimmick somehow unrelated to our national security, but giving federal law-enforcement agents new tools to combat criminal aliens—and potentially foreign terrorists—is a basic component of keeping Americans safe. The resistance from the White House demonstrates that more than three years into the War on Terror, we are still excluding the borders from our concept of homeland security.

[STRATEGY]  
**DOBRIANSKY DREAMING**

Writing in the current issue of *The National Interest*, Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs Paula Dobriansky argues, "The United States has a moral imperative to advocate that individuals around the world have the freedom to pursue their dreams in a secure, prosperous and peaceful environment." If this is just "reach for the stars" happy-talk, good for Ms. D. May she live long and prosper in the Land of the Sugar Plum Fairy.

But her article suggests that advocacy needn't be limited to diplomatic efforts. She endorses gentler forms of coercion (read: U.S. tax dollars as bribes)—while failing to question whether an "innova-

tive initiative [that] rewards nations that 'make the right [governance] choices'" would draw constitutional conduct stars. She continues, "During this administration, the United States has given special attention to promoting democracy in the broader Middle East..." That's one word for it. And she goes on to laud "democracy's historic advance in ... Iraq"—as if they had any choice.

That is where the "democratize the world" conviction leads: to the sort of militant utopianism that sent us crusading in Iraq. Undersecretary Dobriansky surely believes that it is better to achieve a "secure, prosperous and peaceful" world by nonviolent means, but one doesn't advance through the neocon hierarchy solely by plagiarizing Hallmark cards.

[ECONOMICS]  
**INDIAN ELEPHANTS**

September's employment figures were weak, with American companies adding just 96,000 new hires. But don't let that fool you: the GOP knows how to create jobs—in India. Earlier this year we were treated to a statement by the president's chief economic adviser that, as Lou Dobbs says, "raised the administration's support of overseas outsourcing to a declaration of government policy." When it comes to outsourcing, the GOP practices what it preaches. *PC World* reports that development of the Republicans' multimillion-dollar Voter Vault database was outsourced to Compulink Systems in Maharashtra, India.

That was in May 2001. Around the same time, a Russian hacker broke into Compulink's website. Did the hacker gain access to data on the 168 million American voters profiled in Voter Vault? Probably not, though no one can say for sure. But the incident shows that exporting American programming jobs to the Third World is gambling with our security as well as our economy. ■

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# Coming Home

By Patrick J. Buchanan

IN THE FALL OF 2002, the editors of this magazine moved up its launch date to make the conservative case against invading Iraq. Such a war, we warned, on a country that did not attack us, did not threaten us, did not want war with us, and had no role in 9/11, would be “a tragedy and a disaster.” Invade and we inherit our own West Bank of 23 million Iraqis, unite Islam against us, and incite imams from Morocco to Malaysia to preach *tiihad* against America. So we wrote, again and again.

In a 6,000-word article entitled “Whose War?” we warned President Bush that he was “being lured into a trap baited for him by neocons that could cost him his office and cause America to forfeit years of peace won for us by the sacrifices of two generations...”

Everything we predicted has come to pass. Iraq is the worst strategic blunder in our lifetime. And for it, George W. Bush, his War Cabinet, and the neoconservatives who plotted and planned this war for a decade bear full responsibility. Should Bush lose on Nov. 2, it will be because he heeded their siren song—that the world was pining for American Empire; that “Big Government Conservatism” is a political philosophy, not an opportunistic sellout of principle; that free-trade globalism is the path to prosperity, not the serial killer of U.S. manufacturing; that amnesty for illegal aliens is compassionate conservatism, not an abdication of constitutional duty.

Mr. Bush was led up the garden path. And the returns from his mid-life conversion to neoconservatism are now in:

- A guerrilla war in Iraq is dividing and bleeding America with no end in sight. It carries the potential for chaos, civil war, and the dissolution of that country.

Unfortunately, this election does not offer traditional conservatives an easy or natural choice and has left our editors as split as our readership. In an effort to deepen our readers’ and our own understanding of the options before us, we’ve asked several of our editors and contributors to make “the conservative case” for their favored candidate. Their pieces, plus Taki’s column closing out this issue, constitute *TAC*’s endorsement.

—The Editors

- Balkanization of America and the looming bankruptcy of California as poverty and crime rates soar from an annual invasion of indigent illegals is forcing native-born Californians to flee the state for the first time since gold was found at Sutter’s Mill.
- A fiscal deficit of 4 percent of GDP and merchandise trade deficit of 6 percent of GDP have produced a falling dollar, the highest level of foreign indebtedness in U.S. history, and the loss of one of every six manufacturing jobs since Bush took office.

If Bush loses, his conversion to neoconservatism, the Arian heresy of the American Right, will have killed his presidency. Yet, in the contest between Bush and Kerry, I am compelled to endorse the president of the United States. Why? Because, while Bush and Kerry are both wrong on Iraq, Sharon, NAFTA, the WTO, open borders, affirmative action, amnesty, free trade, foreign aid, and Big Government, Bush is right on taxes, judges, sovereignty, and values. Kerry is right on nothing.

The only compelling argument for endorsing Kerry is to punish Bush for Iraq. But why should Kerry be rewarded? He voted to hand Bush a blank check for war. Though he calls Iraq a “colossal” error, “the wrong war in the wrong place at the wrong time,” he has said he would—even had he known Saddam had no role in 9/11 and no WMD—vote the same way today. This is the Richard Perle position.

Assuredly, a president who plunged us into an unnecessary and ruinous war must be held accountable. And if Bush loses, Iraq will have been his undoing. But a vote for Kerry is more than just a vote to punish Bush. It is a vote to punish America.

For Kerry is a man who came home from Vietnam to slime the soldiers, sailors, Marines, and POWs he left behind as war criminals who engaged in serial atrocities with the full knowledge of their superior officers. His conduct was as treasonous as that of Jane Fonda and disqualifies him from ever being commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of the United States.

As senator, he voted to undermine the policy of Ronald Reagan that brought us victory in the Cold War. He has voted against almost every weapon in the U.S.

arsenal. Though a Catholic who professes to believe life begins at conception, he backs abortion on demand. He has opposed the conservative judges Bush has named to the U.S. appellate courts. His plans for national health insurance and new spending would bankrupt America. He would raise taxes. He is a globalist and a multilateralist who would sign us on to the Kyoto Protocol and International Criminal Court. His stands on Iraq are about as coherent as a self-portrait by Jackson Pollock.

With Kerry as president, William Rehnquist could be succeeded as chief justice by Hillary Clinton. Every associate justice Kerry named would be cut from the same bolt of cloth as Warren, Brennan, Douglas, Blackmun, and Ginsburg. Should Kerry win, the courts will remain a battering ram of social revolution and the conservative drive in Congress to restrict the jurisdiction of all federal courts, including the Supreme Court, will die an early death.

I cannot endorse the candidate of Michael Moore, George Soros, and Barbra Streisand, nor endorse a course of action that would put this political windsurfer into the presidency, no matter how deep our disagreement with the fiscal, foreign, immigration, and trade policies of George W. Bush.

As Barry Goldwater said in 1960, in urging conservatives to set aside their grievances and unite behind the establishment party of Eisenhower, Rockefeller, and Lodge, the Republican Party is our home. It is our only hope. If an authentic conservatism rooted in the values of faith, family, community, and country is ever again to become the guiding light of national policy, it will have to come through a Republican administration.

The Democratic Party of Kerry, Edwards, Clinton & Clinton is a lost cause: secularist, socialist, and statist to the core. What of the third-party candidates? While Ralph Nader is a man of principle and political courage, he is of the populist Left. We are of the Right.

The Constitution Party is the party closest to this magazine in philosophy and policy prescriptions, and while one must respect votes for Michael Peroutka by those who live in Red or Blue states, we cannot counsel such votes in battleground states.

For this election has come down to Bush or Kerry, and on life, guns, judges, taxes, sovereignty, and defense, Bush is far better. Moreover, inside the Republican Party, a rebellion is stirring. Tom Tancredo is leading the battle for defense of our borders. While only a handful of Republicans stood with us against the war in Iraq, many now concede that we were right. As Franklin

Foer writes in the *New York Times*, our America First foreign policy is now being given a second look by a conservative movement disillusioned with neoconservative warmongering and Wilsonian interventionism.

There is a rumbling of dissent inside the GOP to the free-trade fanaticism of the *Wall Street Journal* that is denuding the nation of manufacturing and alienating Reagan Democrats. The celebrants of outsourcing in the White House have gone into cloister. The Bush amnesty for illegal aliens has been rejected. Prodigal Republicans now understand that their cohabitation with Big Government has brought their country to the brink of ruin and bought them nothing. But if we wish to be involved in the struggle for the soul of the GOP—and we intend to be there—we cannot be AWOL from the battle where the fate of that party is decided.

There is another reason Bush must win. The liberal establishment that marched us into Vietnam evaded punishment for its loss of nerve and failure of will to win—by dumping LBJ, defecting to the children's crusade to "give peace a chance," then sabotaging Nixon every step of the way out of Vietnam until they broke his presidency in Watergate. Ensuring America's defeat, they covered their tracks by denouncing their own war as "Nixon's War."

If Kerry wins, leading a party that detests this war, he will be forced to execute an early withdrawal. Should that bring about a debacle, neocons will indict Democrats for losing Iraq. The cakewalk crowd cannot be permitted to get out from under this disaster that easily. They steered Bush into this war and should be made to see it through to the end and to preside over the withdrawal or retreat. Only thus can they be held accountable. Only thus can this neo-Jacobin ideology be discredited in America's eyes. It is essential for the country and our cause that it be repudiated by the Republican Party formally and finally. The neocons must clean up the mess they have made, themselves, in full public view.

There is a final reason I support George W. Bush. A presidential election is a Hatfield-McCoy thing, a tribal affair. No matter the quarrels inside the family, when the shooting starts, you come home to your own. When the Redcoats approached New Orleans to sunder the Union and Jackson was stacking cotton bales and calling for help from any quarter, the pirate Lafitte wrote to the governor of Louisiana to ask permission to fight alongside his old countrymen. "The Black Sheep wants to come home," Lafitte pleaded.

It's time to come home. ■

# Kerry's the One

By Scott McConnell

THERE IS LITTLE in John Kerry's persona or platform that appeals to conservatives. The flip-flopper charge—the centerpiece of the Republican campaign against Kerry—seems overdone, as Kerry's contrasting votes are the sort of baggage any senator of long service is likely to pick up. (Bob Dole could tell you all about it.) But Kerry is plainly a conventional liberal and no candidate for a future edition of *Profiles in Courage*. In my view, he will always deserve censure for his vote in favor of the Iraq War in 2002.

But this election is not about John Kerry. If he were to win, his dearth of charisma would likely ensure him a single term. He would face challenges from within his own party and a thwarting of his most expensive initiatives by a Republican Congress. Much of his presidency would be absorbed by trying to clean up the mess left to him in Iraq. He would be constrained by the swollen deficits and a ripe target for the next Republican nominee.

It is, instead, an election about the presidency of George W. Bush. To the surprise of virtually everyone, Bush has turned into an important president, and in many ways the most radical America has had since the 19th century. Because he is the leader of America's conservative party, he has become the Left's perfect foil—its dream candidate. The libertarian writer Lew Rockwell has mischievously noted parallels between Bush and Russia's last tsar, Nicholas II: both gained office as a result of family connections, both initiated an unnecessary war that shattered their countries' budgets. Lenin needed the calamitous reign of Nicholas II to create an opening for the Bolsheviks.

Bush has behaved like a caricature of what a right-wing president is supposed to be, and his continuation in office will discredit any sort of conservatism for generations. The launching of an invasion against a country that posed no threat to the U. S., the doling out of war profits and concessions to politically favored corporations, the financing of the war by ballooning the deficit to be passed on to the nation's children, the ceaseless drive to cut taxes for those outside the middle class and working poor: it is as if Bush sought to resurrect every false 1960s-era left-wing cliché about predatory imperialism and turn it into administration policy.

Add to this his nation-breaking immigration proposal—Bush has laid out a mad scheme to import immigrants to fill any job where the wage is so low that an American can't be found to do it—and you have a presidency that combines imperialist Right and open-borders Left in a uniquely noxious cocktail.

During the campaign, few have paid attention to how much the Bush presidency has degraded the image of the United States in the world. Of course there has always been “anti-Americanism.” After the Second World War many European intellectuals argued for a “Third Way” between American-style capitalism and Soviet communism, and a generation later Europe's radicals embraced every ragged “anti-imperialist” cause that came along. In South America, defiance of “the Yanqui” always draws a crowd. But Bush has somehow managed to take all these sentiments and turbo-charge them. In Europe and indeed all over the world, he has made the United States despised by people who used to be its friends, by businessmen and the middle classes, by moderate and sensible liberals. Never before have democratic foreign governments needed to demonstrate disdain for Washington to their own electorates in order to survive in office. The poll numbers are shocking. In countries like Norway, Germany, France, and Spain, Bush is liked by about seven percent of the populace. In Egypt, recipient of huge piles of American aid in the past two decades, some 98 percent have an unfavorable view of the United States. It's the same throughout the Middle East.

Bush has accomplished this by giving the U.S. a novel foreign-policy doctrine under which it arrogates to itself the right to invade any country it wants if it feels threatened. It is an American version of the Brezhnev Doctrine, but the latter was at least confined to Eastern Europe. If the analogy seems extreme, what is an appropriate comparison when a country manufactures falsehoods about a foreign government, disseminates them widely, and invades the country on the basis of those falsehoods? It is not an action that any American president has ever taken before. It is not something that “good” countries do. It is the main reason that people all over the world who used to con-



sider the United States a reliable and necessary bulwark of world stability now see us as a menace to their own peace and security.

These sentiments mean that as long as Bush is president, we have no real allies in the world, no friends to help us dig out from the Iraq quagmire. More tragically, they mean that if terrorists succeed in striking at the United States in another 9/11-type attack, many in the world will not only think of the American victims but also of the thousands and thousands of Iraqi civilians killed and maimed by American armed forces. The hatred Bush has generated has helped immeasurably those trying to recruit anti-American terrorists—indeed his policies are the gift to terrorism that keeps on giving, as the sons and brothers of slain Iraqis think how they may eventually take their own revenge. Only the seriously deluded could fail to see that a policy so central to America's survival as a free country as getting hold of

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**“George W. Bush has come to embody a politics that is antithetical to almost any kind of thoughtful conservatism.”**

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loose nuclear materials and controlling nuclear proliferation requires the willingness of foreign countries to provide full, 100 percent co-operation. Making yourself into the world's most hated country is not an obvious way to secure that help.

I've heard people who have known George W. Bush for decades and served prominently in his father's administration say that he could not possibly have conceived of the doctrine of pre-emptive war by himself, that he was essentially taken for a ride by people with a pre-existing agenda to overturn Saddam Hussein. Bush's public performances plainly show him to be a man who has never read or thought much about foreign policy. So the inevitable questions are: who makes the key foreign-policy decisions in the Bush presidency, who controls the information flow to the president, how are various options are presented?

The record, from published administration memoirs and in-depth reporting, is one of an administration with a very small group of six or eight real decision-makers, who were set on war from the beginning and who took great pains to shut out arguments from professionals in the CIA and State Department and the U.S. armed forces that contradicted their rosy scenarios about easy

victory. Much has been written about the neoconservative hand guiding the Bush presidency—and it is peculiar that one who was fired from the National Security Council in the Reagan administration for suspicion of passing classified material to the Israeli embassy and another who has written position papers for an Israeli Likud Party leader have become key players in the making of American foreign policy.

But neoconservatism now encompasses much more than Israel-obsessed intellectuals and policy insiders. The Bush foreign policy also surfs on deep currents within the Christian Right, some of which see unqualified support of Israel as part of a godly plan to bring about Armageddon and the future kingdom of Christ. These two strands of Jewish and Christian extremism build on one another in the Bush presidency—and President Bush has given not the slightest indication he would restrain either in a second term. With Colin Powell's departure from the State Department looming, Bush is more than ever the “neoconian candidate.” The only way Americans will have a presidency in which neoconservatives and the Christian Armageddon set are not holding the reins of power is if Kerry is elected.

If Kerry wins, this magazine will be in opposition from Inauguration Day forward. But the most important battles will take place within Republican Party and the conservative movement. A Bush defeat will ignite a huge soul-searching within the rank-and-file of Republicanism: a quest to find out how and where the Bush presidency went wrong. And it is then that more traditional conservatives will have an audience to argue for a conservatism informed by the lessons of history, based in prudence and a sense of continuity with the American past—and to make that case without a powerful White House pulling in the opposite direction.

George W. Bush has come to embody a politics that is antithetical to almost any kind of thoughtful conservatism. His international policies have been based on the hopelessly naïve belief that foreign peoples are eager to be liberated by American armies—a notion more grounded in Leon Trotsky's concept of global revolution than any sort of conservative statecraft. His immigration policies—temporarily put on hold while he runs for re-election—are just as extreme. A re-elected President Bush would be committed to bringing in millions of low-wage immigrants to do jobs Americans “won't do.” This election is all about George W. Bush, and those issues are enough to render him unworthy of any conservative support. ■

# Old Right Nader

By Justin Raimondo

THE NADER FOR PRESIDENT rally was a raucous affair and Mission High School was filled to capacity, with a substantial crowd packing the lobby and overflowing into the street. It was the logical place for such an event, the middle of San Francisco's Mission District, a hub of far-left activism where you're as likely to see an advertisement for a forum by the International Socialist Organization as a billboard for Absolut vodka.

As I entered the auditorium, Nader's running mate, Peter Camejo, was already warming up the crowd. Camejo, a former Trotskyist turned Green, gives a good speech: the stentorian voice, the slashing polemics punctuated by applause. There I was, surrounded on every side by rambunctious Reds, wondering: what the heck am I doing here?

As if in answer to my question, Nader finally strode onto the stage. He looked impossibly serene in the midst of that storm of applause, and his voice—steady and sure—reinforced an aura of integrity that seemed to emanate from his very person.

We're getting poorer, he said. In spite of government propaganda about how things are getting better, our standard of living, compared to the way our parents lived, is declining. The Left, content to settle for less, has given up fighting for real progress, while the Democrats are just as bad as the Republicans on such issues as "the concentration of power."

Nader explained that his campaign is important "pictorially" because the two major parties, left to themselves, will merely consolidate the *status quo*: there will be no one to pull the political dialogue in a new direction. He spoke of "the domination of multi-national corporations" intent on "erecting a corporate globalization scheme of international autocratic government called WTO and NAFTA." The avarice and cowardice of the two parties allows this to happen. Invoking the legacy of the populist and progressive movements of the last century, Nader urged the crowd to remember the fighting tradition of ordinary people who stood up to the railroad monopolies and bankers. They didn't "settle for less," he declared, and neither should you.

He kept coming back to the theme of a liberal intelligentsia that has betrayed the cause of progressive reform. They are, he charged, at once arrogant and too accommodating. They "presume to tell you that [your efforts on behalf of Nader] will help to re-elect George W. Bush—but when push actually came to shove in Florida, what did they do?" "Who elected George W. Bush?" he asked. "It was the Democratic Party! Even after they won the election they blew it!"

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**"Nader's views are attractive to the Left but are rooted, at least in part, on the libertarian and populist Right"**

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I cheered when he cited Gen. Smedley Butler's book *War is a Racket* as an example of how corporate interests manipulate patriotic sentiment, socializing the risks of overseas investments and pocketing the profits. The Democrats are a big part of the problem: "In Washington they say that George W. Bush must be defeated because of the War in Iraq. Who voted for the War in Iraq? John Kerry. They say our civil liberties are being sacrificed by the Patriot Act. Who voted for the Patriot Act? Every Democratic Senator except Sen. Russ Feingold voted for the Patriot Act."

What we have in this country, he declared, is "corporate socialism." You should've seen the dirty looks I got as I applauded vigorously. Socialism, to this audience, doesn't have anything to do with corporations, it can't. But Nader is no Red; he knows better. Although all 11 varieties of Trotskyists were there in full force, earnestly hawking their pamphlets, the rhetoric that was coming from the stage was hardly music to their ears.

Nader's distrust of bigness, either corporate or governmental, his fear of centralized power, his sharp critique of the managerial-bureaucratic mentality, all recall the distinctively American tradition of individualist populism. Just as Nader rebelled against the corporate socialism of the Democratic Party establishment, so the

mostly Midwestern progressives turned against the New Deal when it became a stalking horse for corporatism and war. Nader's views are attractive to the Left but are rooted, at least in part, on the libertarian and populist Right.

He wasn't always a leftist icon. One of his first published articles appeared in the Oct. 1962 issue of *The Freeman*, a libertarian magazine. The piece, "How the Winstedites Kept Their Integrity," told the story of how a proposal to build a public-housing project met with opposition in Winsted, Conn., Nader's hometown. He attacked the aesthetic aspect of government housing projects as symbolic of "the drab, uniform, barrack-type existence" that awaits its tenants. He writes:

Living under the government as landlord neither teaches children the value of property (which is one reason why public housing deteriorates so quickly) nor produces the environment for the exercise of independence, self-reliance, and, above all, citizenship. Any government intrusion into the economy deters the alleged beneficiaries from voicing their views or participating in civic life. The reason for this goes beyond the stigma of living in

subsidized housing. When public housing becomes, as it has over the nation, a source of additional patronage for local distribution to contractors, repairmen, and tenants, the free expression of human beings is thus discouraged.

What riled Ralph about the Winsted housing project was that locals were denied access to information by bureaucrats and had to resort to three referenda before they could scotch the plans of political insiders to milk private profit from the public teat. It's the same old Ralph, albeit a bit more libertarian than we're used to.

As he stood on the stage, denouncing corporate socialism and foreign wars, that calm, clear voice ringing with modest sincerity, I thought: no wonder they're so afraid of him that they've hired an army of corporate lawyers to deny him ballot status and shut down his campaign.

I know Ralph Nader is supposed to be a man of the Left, the Eugene Debs or the Norman Thomas of our times, but as I listen to him on the stump, I keep hearing the voice of the Old Right. ■

*Justin Raimondo is editorial director of Antiwar.com.*

## Constitutionally Correct Peroutka

By Howard Phillips

THE CONSTITUTION PARTY, then called the U.S. Taxpayers Party, was established in 1992, with its goal to limit the federal government to its delegated, enumerated, constitutional functions and to restore American jurisprudence to its Biblical common-law foundations. Neither John Kerry nor George W. Bush shares that goal.

Both President Bush and Senator Kerry have voted for or signed into law more money for Planned Parenthood and other pro-abortion groups, more money for homosexual activist groups, more money for the United Nations, more money for foreign aid, more money for federal intervention in education, not to mention the biggest budgets and budget deficits in the history of our Republic. Neither Bush nor Kerry has supported "Ten Commandments Judge" Roy Moore and his Constitu-

tion Restoration Act to prohibit reliance on foreign law and deny federal judges the authority to restrict our acknowledgment of God. Both men favor amnesty for illegal aliens and policies that benefit Communist China to the detriment of U.S. national security.

You and I know these things, but most "conservatives" plan to vote for George W. Bush. Some say the reason they plan to vote for Bush is judicial appointments. But that argument lost its validity when President Bush intervened to prevent the nomination of Congressman Pat Toomey over pro-abortion Sen. Arlen Specter in the recent Pennsylvania Republican Senate primary. If Senator Specter is re-elected on Nov. 2 and the GOP holds its majority in the U.S. Senate, Specter will become chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, situated to act in collaboration with his liberal

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Democrat soul mates to prevent the confirmation of pro-life judicial nominees—and positioned to argue to Bush, if he is re-elected, against the appointment of judges who are comprehensively opposed to abortion. For these reasons and others, it is specious to vote for George W. Bush on the basis of supposed advantages for our side with respect to judicial confirmations.

Moreover, just as Senate Democrats have blocked Republican judicial nominees, the GOP majority in the Senate can—if they summon the will to do so—block nominees by a President Kerry. Of course, only three

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**“We have traveled farther down the wrong path with a Republican president and Congress than we would have if we had experienced gridlock.”**

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GOP Senators voted to oppose the confirmation of Ruth Bader Ginsburg. Only nine voted against Stephen Breyer, and no Republican Senator voted against confirming either pro-abortion David Souter or pro-abortion Sandra Day O'Connor. The positions of both of these nominees were a matter of public record when the Senate placed them on the Supreme Court of the United States.

But there is a greater reason that many conservatives are reluctant to vote for the Constitution Party's Michael Peroutka. It is fear of the “Bogey Man,” and John Kerry is the Bogey Man of 2004. George W. Bush is presented as “the lesser of two evils,” and Bogey Man John Kerry is characterized, perhaps accurately, as evil incarnate.

Kerry personifies the antithesis of what most conservatives believe, but he is only the latest in a long line of Bogey Men who have diverted us from putting our Republic back on a constitutional track. In 1992, most conservatives were understandably frightened by Bogey Man Bill Clinton and voted against me when I offered then, as Michael Peroutka does now, a constitutionally correct alternative to both major parties. Despite your votes for Bush the Elder, the Bogey Man won in 1992.

Bogey Man Bill Clinton reappeared in 1996 and, once again, most conservatives rejected the only candidate who offered a Christian, constitutional plan of action and invested their votes in Kansas Sen. Bob Dole. There were some exceptions. Jim Dobson declared after the

fact that he had cast his vote for Howard Phillips. Of course, despite conservative support for Dole, Clinton won again in 1996.

Last time, Al Gore was the Bogey Man and, once again, conservatives rejected the Constitution Party nominee in favor of George Bush the Younger. In 2000, the Bogey Man lost, but what did it profit America to have elected the “lesser of two evils”? Would we have had the unwise, unnecessary, unconstitutional war on Iraq if Gore had been elected? I doubt it.

We have traveled farther down the wrong path with a Republican president and Congress than we would have if we had experienced gridlock with a Democratic president and a Republican majority in the House and the Senate.

As president, Michael Peroutka would end federal intervention in education, cut off federal funding of Planned Parenthood and homosexual activist groups, withdraw from NATO, the UN, NAFTA, WTO, the World Bank, and the IMF. He would seal our borders, cancel the George W. Bush-Vicente Fox treaty to pay Social Security benefits to illegal aliens who have returned to Mexico, expel illegal aliens, end all foreign aid, withdraw from Iraq, oppose the Patriot Act, fight all forms of socialized medicine, and appoint only judges who are 100 percent against abortion. Peroutka would abolish the IRS and replace the income tax with a revenue tariff. He would recognize the threat posed by Communist China and rebuild the U.S. Navy, which has dropped from 600 ships under Ronald Reagan to fewer than 250 today.

If conservatives don't vote for what they believe, they will never get what they want. Losing as slowly as possible means we still lose. Going over the cliff at a supposedly slower speed still means we are going to crash.

A vote withheld from both the Democrats and Republicans weakens that which is wrong and strengthens the cause of that which is right. Any vote cast for constitutionally sound, Biblically based policies hastens the day when, should God will it, we can witness the restoration of the Republic. It is not for us to decide elections, but rather to determine where we shall invest our precious franchise. God alone determines the outcome, and He blesses those who trust in Him.

Michael Peroutka is the only constitutionally correct choice in 2004. Let's not let the Right go wrong again. ■

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*Howard Phillips is the founder of the Constitution Party.*



# Libertarian Resistance

By Alan W. Bock

FOR THOSE INCLINED to participate in the electoral circus—and given the choices presented by the two major parties, especially on the key issue of war and an increasingly imperial American foreign policy, one can understand an inclination simply to abstain—the question is what kind of vote will best send a message to the system about the importance of your core political values.

I would respectfully suggest that a vote for Libertarian Party presidential candidate Michael Badnarik, and for Libertarians running for other offices, is the most efficacious way to do so.

It's not a perfect way to telegraph a message, and Michael Badnarik is not a perfect candidate. But by its nature the electoral system does not offer ideal choices, simply those that have managed to claw their way to party nominations and ballot status. For conservatives who treasure the Old Republic and recoil from the interventionist foreign policies that have led to so much American blood being needlessly spilled and treasure unnecessarily wasted, while posing an ongoing danger to constitutional principles, the Libertarian Party is the best option in 2004.

John Kerry, however tempting it might be to contemplate a divided government (assuming Republicans maintain control of Congress) mired in glorious gridlock, simply will not do. His short-term solution to Iraq is more troops, and while he questions in retrospect the Bush administration's decision-making and lack of planning, he is an unalloyed international interventionist unwilling to question the Wilsonian underpinnings of current American foreign policy. His explanation of his vote to authorize the use of force if needed is more ominous than if he had supported the Iraq War enthusiastically. The president should have that power, he explained, whining only that Bush had misused it.

On domestic policy, of course, his voting record is to the left of Teddy Kennedy, suggesting a slew of spending initiatives, not all of which a Republican Congress—especially one conditioned to higher spending by four years of Bush 43—will resist or block.

George W. Bush richly deserves to be punished at the polls. He got the United States into a war of aggression in Iraq that is likely to be followed, in a best-case scenario, by a long and difficult occupation that will inspire increasing hatred of the United States among people likely to express their hatred in unpleasant ways toward innocent Americans.

On the home front, Bush has presided over the most dramatic increase in domestic discretionary spending since the Great Society. While he talks of freedom and a government that leaves the people alone, the initial debates show that both his and Cheney's learned response to problems in American society is to throw taxpayers' money at them. This record does not deserve support or encouragement from even a modestly principled American conservative.

As for Ralph Nader, while some of his statements on the unwise war in Iraq have been welcome, he is what he has been for many years: an advocate of a comprehensive regulatory state designed to eliminate even the whiff of risk—and plenty of freedom—from American life. A vote for him in some battleground states might hurt Bush or help Kerry. Those who want

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**“The Libertarian Party, whatever its many shortcomings, has been around since 1972, running candidates at every level.”**

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to use their vote for such tactical purposes—understanding that no matter how sophisticated polling gets you can't be sure it will have that effect—might want to vote for Nader, but it will not be a vote that sends a message of support for constitutionally limited government.

Why should a conservative vote for the Libertarian candidate rather than one of the American Independent, Patriot, or Constitution Party hopefuls? The main reason is the ability to send a coherent message

of resistance to unconstitutional growth of government.

To be sure, many conservatives are put off by some libertarian positions on drug-law reform, free trade, gay marriage, and pornography. But an election is—or should be for a government properly limited in scope—more about political values than moral values. If I correctly understand *American Conservative* readers, of which I have been one since early on, they still hold a constitutionally limited state, a noninterventionist foreign policy, and a proper balance among branches and levels of government, to be core political values.

The Libertarian Party, whatever its many shortcomings, has been around since 1972, running candidates at every level. It is on the ballot in every state and in 2000 ran enough congressional candidates to win (theoretically) a majority in the House. It is much better organized at a national level than any of the minor conservative parties (which may not be saying much) and it has presented a coherent philosophical alternative to the major parties for decades.

I know the party better in the Golden State than on a national level. In California, which has seen its share of flakes running as Libertarians, Orange County Superior Court Judge Jim Gray, a serious, principled proponent of limited government who would wipe the floor with Democrat Barbara Boxer and Republican Bill Jones if they were foolish enough to let him into televised debates, is running for Senate and should do respectably. He's the harbinger of a trend toward people who understand that if you're going to do politics, even as a third party, you put on a suit and tie, handle questions seriously, and convince people you could actually serve responsibly if elected.

That trend in the Libertarian Party should be rewarded. And a vote for a Libertarian is the best way for a small-government, constitutionalist conservative to let various establishments know there is still a constituency for the Constitution. ■

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*Alan W. Bock is a senior editorial writer for the Orange County Register.*

# The Right to Remain Silent

**By Kara Hopkins**

WHAT IF YOU THREW A PARTY—and 100 million people refused to come? You could blame them for lacking festive spirit, but odds are it wasn't much of a party if they preferred to stay home.

On Nov. 2, millions of Americans will troop to the polls to re-enact the quadrennial pageant. But nearly as many will opt out. They will be accused of sloth, though indifference is more apt—and remains the appropriate response to irrelevance.

If George W. Bush and John Kerry agree on anything—in fact, they agree on far too many things—it's that we must vote. Elections maintain the illusion of opposing parties exchanging ideas rather than political animals competing for power. Selling voting as the ultimate expression of citizenship serves two purposes: it legitimizes the process that keeps them in control and makes the public docile by enforcing the notion that we rule ourselves.

But what value is participation if those who cast ballots go unrepresented? Is there virtue in the act if it allows no choice? Smash offending countries alone or invite friends along for the invasion? Tax-and-spend or tax-cut-and-spend? Open borders or open borders? Before herding to the polls because it's What We Do—like fireworks on the Fourth or eggnog at Christmas—consider the possibility that voting has little to do with democracy and democracy is not the first cause of liberty.

Fault him for a thousand things, but Saddam Hussein knew how to get out the vote: his elections had far better turnout than ours. Yet we reckoned his government so undemocratic that it had to be razed, and next round, according to Donald Rumsfeld, elections in “three-quarters or four-fifths of the country” should be good enough. It's not the chad-punching that makes a country free. It's the democracy, stupid. Or is it?

After Sept. 11, the White House identified our enemy as forces that “hate democracy and freedom.” The coupling may have been as careless as the notion that men die for such abstractions, but in the public mind the concepts are twined as they are devalued. We export democracy to spread freedom to make our country more secure—or so the slogan goes. Real life is more complicated.

Venture into that crosswalk reserved for sacred cows. Democracy may be the West’s political grail, but it is not inherently just or moral. As Edmund Burke famously asked, “[Is there some difference] between the despotism of the monarch and the despotism of the multitude?” The rule of law—fixed by forces less capricious than the whim of the mob—is a far better guardian of individual freedom than electoral popularity. The majority may elect a tyrant. Neither is democracy the most stable social order—something we might have considered before we went planting political systems in security’s name.

Come January, our new colony is likely to school us in democracy’s shortcomings. A May survey by the Coalition Provisional Authority found that just 6 percent of Iraqis want the U.S. to stay as long as is “necessary for stability.” Thus any victorious candidate will have radicalized his constituents by running on an anti-American platform. Because we have enshrined democracy, we must accept the Iraqis’ choice and may quietly be grateful to be shown the door by these infant democrats. But so much for visions of Madison reincarnated in Mesopotamia and promises that Iraqi democracy will enhance U.S. security.

But they will be free, we comfort ourselves. After all, we wrote that book. Its latest version ensures that we don’t answer cell phones while driving in D.C. or smoke after dinner in New York. No complaints because we apparently brought this freedom from ourselves upon ourselves by democratic means. The old monarchs confiscated a far smaller portion of their subjects’ gain and would never have countenanced a trillion-dollar deficit. They weren’t leaving town in four years. But we feel more free because we elect our captors, having long since forgotten that the purpose of government is not to confer freedom but to restrict it. With regrets to Tocqueville, here the people do not rule—though marching to the polls creates a tidy front.

So if the act of voting is not sacrosanct and democracy, despite its “better than all the rest” pedestal, is not the sole—or perhaps even the best—guarantor of liberty, Nov. 2 may be just another day. This election the major candidates agree on the prerogative of politicians to bribe voters with their own money and that the fine print of the presidential job description obligates him to “make the world safe.” These issues are not open to debate. There is no conservative candidate.

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“The rule of law—fixed by forces less capricious than the whim of the mob—is a far better guardian of individual freedom than electoral popularity. The majority may elect a tyrant.”

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Some will argue that voting third party is more responsible than staying home. But there is a more effective way to register a protest than lining up behind an asterisk. Four million evangelical voters refused to be corralled in 2000. This round, Karl Rove went looking for them.

“What about judges?” Republicans ask conservatives turned conscientious objectors. That argument no longer persuades. Six Republican-appointed justices sat on the Court that decided *Roe v. Wade*; Nixon appointee Harry Blackmun wrote the decision. And after 12 years of Reagan and Bush, the Court affirmed *Roe* in 1992. The GOP has no reason to register some votes as pertaining solely to judicial nominees. They collect them all and call it a mandate—affirmation of a foreign policy that plunged us into endless war and a domestic agenda that is driving us into massive debt. Full speed ahead.

By declining to be coerced we may yet salvage a scrap of liberty. We won’t be letting democracy down, for it has already disappointed us. *Pace* President Bush and his “forward strategy of freedom,” liberty was never government’s to give; the essential right to be left alone belongs to each citizen. This November, we can borrow a bit back by refusing to be counted by parties that don’t represent us. Silence is a profound expression, and enough unraised voices eventually turn even the most partisan heads. ■

[border control, stat!]

## Send Us Your Sick

Illegal immigration overwhelms California's hospitals.

By Roger D. McGrath

WHILE OUR TWO MAJOR presidential candidates debate the number of boots on the ground in Iraq, neither has broached the topic of boots on the border. Immigrants are pouring across our southern border as if it did not exist and taxing the infrastructure of California to the breaking point, proving that there are ways to destroy a nation other than with bombs or bullets. The mostly quiet and unspectacular invasion of illegal immigrants does not focus the attention of the nation the way warfare does, but is all the more insidious for its stealth and apparent innocuousness. In California, though, a critical mass has been reached, and the public is beginning to hurt. Emergency rooms and hospitals are closing at an alarming rate.

Since 1990, 15 percent of California's emergency rooms have shut down, unable to continue losing millions of dollars each year, and 80 percent of those that remain open are operating in the red. The large number of uninsured patients is the stated cause of the losses and closures, but privately, and occasionally publicly, hospital administrators acknowledge that the majority of the uninsured are illegal aliens. In several hospitals, the maternity wards are filled almost exclusively with illegal aliens. When a hospital ceases operation, whether entirely or of emergency care only, the burden of caring for the illegals is shifted to other hospitals, and the dominoes begin to fall. If the flow

across the border continues, a hospital crisis is imminent.

In September, the San Fernando Valley's oldest hospital—known as Valley Hospital for most of its 75-year existence—announced that it would be out of business by year's end. The hospital opened its doors when the valley had few paved roads and most of its residents lived on small farms or ranches. Caring for some 45,000 patients a year and employing nearly 1,000 people, the hospital—now called the Sherman Way Campus of Northridge Hospital Medical Center—is losing more than \$1 million a month. Located in the heart of a growing illegal alien population in Van Nuys, the hospital mostly treats uninsured patients. "There is a severe health care crisis in Los Angeles," said Jerry Conway, the president of the facility, "and we are in the eye of the storm."

The hospital averages 250 births a month to mothers without insurance. Virtually all have Spanish surnames. Whether from Mexico or Central America, with the birth of a child, mothers hit the welfare jackpot. Because of their American-citizen children, they become eligible for food stamps, transportation vouchers, and subsidized housing. Nothing like it back in Zacatecas.

Even more uninsured patients take advantage of the hospital's emergency care. Many illegal aliens use the emergency room as their primary health-care provider. Why not?—it costs them

nothing. It was thought that Valley Hospital emergency room would close when the hospital shuts down in December. Early in October, however, the county Department of Health Services, citing a shortage of on-call surgeons and specialty physicians, ordered the emergency room closed. The patient load and costs had simply become too great. Six emergency-care facilities have now closed in Los Angeles County during the last year. The fifth to close was the emergency facility for Elstair Community Hospital in East Los Angeles. Located in the heart of an old-time Mexican-American community that has been hit hard by illegal aliens, the emergency room had also been losing millions of dollars.

Another hospital and emergency room scheduled to close by year's end is Robert F. Kennedy in Hawthorne, which has lost nearly \$60 million over the last two years. Again, demographics tell the story. When the Beach Boys were going to Hawthorne High, the town was virtually all white. Now it's 45 percent Hispanic—most born in Mexico or to Mexican parents—and 33 percent black. Whites account for only 12 percent of the population.

Several other hospitals are on the verge of closing their emergency rooms, including Good Samaritan, where Bobby Kennedy was rushed after being shot at the Ambassador Hotel. Treatment of uninsured patients in the emergency room costs Good Sam \$10 million a year. Also financially hemorrhaging is



Downey Regional Medical Center, which has seen its uninsured patient load double during the last year and whose emergency room is now losing a quarter of a million dollars a month. Also witnessing the doubling of its uninsured in 2004 is California Hospital near downtown Los Angeles. Although the hospital has refused to make public the monetary loss suffered by its emergency room, which treats mostly illegal aliens, the estimate is \$10-15 million a year. If the emergency rooms of Good Sam and California Hospital close, the effect would reverberate throughout central Los Angeles and perhaps overwhelm the remaining emergency facilities in the inner city.

Even with the recent closures, the problem facing the surviving emergency facilities is not always one of capacity. There are several hospitals in Los Angeles County that have the room and personnel to absorb more patients. What they cannot absorb are more nonpaying patients, and such patients have doubled and even tripled during the last year alone at dozens of emergency rooms in southern California.

Under federal law, emergency rooms cannot deny treatment to those in need. Once stabilized, however, indigent patients can be transferred from private hospitals to county hospitals. In Los Angeles County, this usually means transfer to one of four county-run hospitals, including Los Angeles County Hospital, or treatment at one of dozens of small county clinics. With large budget deficits itself, the county has recently closed 16 of the clinics and made the transfer process to its hospitals far more difficult. Moreover, transfers have always depended on availability of beds. If the county hospitals are full, then patients stay in the private hospitals where they originally received treatment. Since the maternity wards at the county hospitals are often full or nearly so, illegal aliens

**As part of the antiterrorism high alert before the presidential elections, the FBI has been canvassing immigrant neighborhoods and has been involved in a process known as "shaking the trees."**

Persons who have appeared on lists of suspects but who have committed no crimes are being stopped at airports either leaving from or arriving in the U.S. and are being called on at their homes or places of business, where they are subjected to intensive questioning. There are still no so-called al-Qaeda sleeper cells identified in the U.S., but law enforcement is working on the assumption that such cells must exist and that persons who have been suspected in the past are either members of those cells or associated in some way with others who may be. Intelligence analysts still do not have any credible information that al-Qaeda will strike the U.S. before the elections, but even highly speculative leads are being pursued. In early October, the Department of Homeland Security warned a number of school districts to be on alert based on the discovery of information in an Iraqi computer providing the layouts of a number of American schools. Subsequent investigation determined that the computer belonged to an Iraqi civil engineer working on the plans for new Iraqi schools as part of a reconstruction project.



**The undeclared warfare between the CIA and the Bush administration has continued despite the arrival of Porter Goss as Director of Central Intelligence.**

On Sept. 28, at the Vice President's request, the Agency provided a special briefing on the subject of Jordanian terrorist Mu'sab al-Zarqawi. The CIA's Counter Terrorism Center (CTC) reviewed all of the available intelligence on the subject and based its briefing on a just completed comprehensive intelligence analysis. The CTC concluded that Saddam Hussein had not materially supported Zarqawi before the U.S.-led invasion and that Zarqawi's infrastructure in Iraq before the war was confined to the northern no-fly zones of Kurdistan, beyond Baghdad's reach. Cheney reacted with fury, screaming at the briefer that CIA was trying to get John Kerry elected by contradicting the president's stance that Saddam had supported terrorism and therefore needed to be overthrown. The hapless briefer was shaken by the vice president's outburst, and the incident was reported back to Goss, who indicated that he was reluctant to confront the vice president's staff regarding it. Goss was sent to CIA by the president with instructions to get the place under control and stop the leaking. The White House had earlier been upset by the leak of the most recent National Intelligence Estimate stating that things were not going well in Iraq. The choice of Goss as director was opposed by some of CIA's management, who claimed he was too political. As a result of the sniping, Goss will have to navigate carefully between protecting the integrity of the intelligence process and serving his boss, the president. Reform of the Agency, once seen as a hot-button issue, though only embraced tepidly by Goss, will be a secondary consideration.

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understand that once they are admitted to a private hospital, their chances of transfer are slim.

Nurses have told me that pregnant illegal aliens, some as young as 14 or 15, know how to manipulate the system. Because of superior care and conditions, the girls prefer private hospitals. Waiting until they are having regular contractions or their water has broken, they suddenly arrive at an emergency room. With birth imminent, the hospitals are required to admit them. A nurse said she was on duty one evening when a pregnant girl was brought in by her boyfriend and the hospital refused her admission because all signs suggested

rooms, trauma centers, and health clinics. Mercifully, Proposition 67 has not generated much support and appears destined to fail. Evidently inspired by Hillary Clinton, many argue that a nationalized system of health care is the answer.

Congress has recently addressed the problem. As part of the Medicare Act of 2003, \$1 billion has been allocated over four years to reimburse hospitals for the care of illegal aliens. Republican Congressman Dana Rohrabacher of Orange County proposed that the funding be conditional upon the willingness of hospitals to report illegal aliens. Although Republicans control the House, Rohrabacher's proposal was defeated 331 to 88.

**WITH LITTLE MONEY AND LESS ENGLISH, THEY RECEIVE THE FINEST MEDICAL CARE OUR COUNTRY CAN OFFER AND DO SO WITHOUT THE PAPERWORK THAT BURDENS THE REST OF US.**

birth was many hours away. The couple then went out to the parking lot and waited, reappearing every hour or two. Sometime late at night she attained the required dilation and was whisked to a private room. The nurse said she saw versions of this event dozens of times.

If the illegal aliens are costing private hospitals tens of millions of dollars for health care and forcing the closure of emergency rooms, they are also costing counties in California hundreds of millions. Estimates for Los Angeles County vary widely but some county officials have put it at upwards of \$500 million a year. Any reasonable person would suggest that the way to deal with this crushing burden on the hospitals, public and private, is to deport illegal aliens. Instead, Proposition 67 is on the ballot in California for the November election. The initiative would impose a 3 percent tax on telephone bills—the proliferation of cell phones has whetted leftist appetites for this new tax—to subsidize emergency

Nonetheless, a clause was added to the Medicare bill requiring that regulations be established for funding. In late July, the regulations were announced: hospitals are supposed to make a good-faith effort to determine the immigration status of uninsured patients by asking the following questions: Are you a United States citizen? Are you a lawful permanent resident, an alien with a valid current employment authorization card, or other qualified alien? Are you in the United States on a non-immigrant visa? Are you a foreign citizen who has been admitted to the United States with a 72-hour border-crossing card? Hospitals would then keep the answers and patient identification on file for federal auditors.

Sounds reasonable, but a storm of protest by the usual immigration advocacy groups swept across Washington almost immediately. The National Council of La Raza claimed that Latinos would be “unfairly targeted” and that parents “will be terrified to seek care for

their children.” If so, this will be the first thing that has terrified them. Entering the country illegally, working illegally, driving illegally, and collecting benefits illegally do not seem to have instilled any fear.

Hospital organizations also opposed the regulations. Hospitals want federal money but not the paperwork. They do not say this, of course. The California Healthcare Association and similar organizations speak of public-health risks increasing because illegal aliens with communicable diseases will be afraid to seek treatment. Isn't this why, throughout our history, immigrants were checked for disease at ports of entry and quickly sent home if found to be infected? The regulations were supposed to go into effect Sept. 1, and funds were finally released on Oct. 1—without the requirement that hospitals ask about immigration status.

President Bush's anticipated amnesty has caused the number of illegal immigrants crashing the border to increase by tens of thousands. Not surprisingly, these same immigrants, sooner or later, show up at emergency rooms. With little money and less English, they receive the finest medical care our country can offer and do so without the paperwork that burdens the rest of us.

A few years ago my wife and I had to rush our daughter to the emergency room at our local hospital in Thousand Oaks. We have only a small population of illegal aliens in our town, but a quarter or more of those in the emergency room were clearly recent arrivals from south of the border. While I filled out reams of paperwork and had my insurance cards photocopied, the illegal aliens did little but get treated. Next time the family's going in disguise and muttering, “No hablo Ingles.” ■

*Roger D. McGrath is an historian in California and the author of Gunfighters, Highwaymen and Vigilantes.*

# The Old Ballgame

Baseball returns to Washington but not to greatness

By Mark Gauvreau Judge

AT THE RISK OF BEING IMMODEST, I have a proposal for the stadium to be built as the home of Washington's new baseball team: put a statue of my grandfather at the entrance. Joe Judge played first base for the Washington Senators from 1915 to 1932, and his stats alone justify a statue—in his 19 years in major league baseball he had a .298 batting average, 2,352 hits, 433 doubles, 1,037 RBI, and over 1,500 double plays. He hit .385 in the 1924 World Series, the only one Washington ever won. But he should be honored for what he was: a gentleman ballplayer, like his friend and contemporary, the great pitcher Walter Johnson.

Today Johnson would probably be diagnosed with acute social anxiety, but they used to call that shyness and self-respect. He refused to take credit for victories or blame other players for losses—in fact, he didn't even like winning if it was done on the cheap. At the end of the 1908 season, the Senators had a chance to avoid the bottom of the standings for the first time since they were founded in 1901. The Philadelphia Athletics arrived in Washington on Sept. 11 for a five-game series, and if Washington could win a game, they would land in seventh rather than eighth place. During the opener, Johnson faced a young player named "Shoeless" Joe Jackson, playing in his second major league game. Jackson, who would become infamous in the 1919 Black Sox scandal, got one of the nine hits the Athletics managed off Johnson. The Senators won 2-1, ending the season in seventh rather than last place, but rather than gloating over

the victory, Johnson turned attention to Jackson, calling him "the greatest natural hitter I ever saw." He felt that Washington hadn't deserved to win against Philadelphia because the Senators hadn't played very well. Ed Grillo, a reporter for the *Washington Post*, was impressed by this admission. He wrote of Johnson, "There is something about this boy aside from his ability as a pitcher, that makes him popular with patrons of the game. He is absolutely honest in everything he does. He never complains of the umpires' decisions and is modest to a fault, believing that his teammates, more than himself, are entitled to the credit for what his team accomplishes when he is playing."

Years later, Grillo would witness another episode of Johnson's embarrassment at winning ugly. In a close game, the Senators let three men on base due to errors, and Johnson had to strike out the next three. Heading back

Unlike Johnson, Joe Judge is largely forgotten. He was not the kind of player, or the kind of man, who drew attention to himself, and while his statistics are worthy of the Hall of Fame, they are not as jaw-dropping as Johnson's, who once pitched three full games against the Yankees in four days, winning every game. Family, friends, and sportswriters describe my grandfather as polite, taciturn, unassuming, humble. A 1925 article in *Baseball* magazine described him as "the sheet anchor of the Washington infield." Off the field, Judge was saintly in his sarcasm and even temper.

His baseball career lasted from 1915 to 1934, which means it partly took place in the "dead ball era" before the 1920s. He learned to play a game that was about singles, bunts, fielding, and defense, not the loud, vulgar, pyrotechnic power spectacle that baseball became in the 1920s with the arrival of

NOBODY TALKS ABOUT HIM AS A **GENTLEMAN**, PROBABLY BECAUSE **FEW KNOW WHAT ONE IS** ANYMORE.

to the dugout he kept his head down. "Look at him!" Senators' manager Joe Cantillon said. "He's ashamed he did it!" Not surprisingly, Johnson was voted the most popular player in the *Washington Post* poll of 1908, but no one remembers why he was so beloved. Nobody talks about him as a gentleman, probably because few know what one is anymore.

Babe Ruth, a gigantic talent and an out-sized personality, the forerunner of today's spoilt athlete. "The route to the common man's heart is paved with ribaldry and excess," baseball historian Harold Seymour wrote of Ruth's hold on baseball fans. "What English king was more famous than Henry VIII?" One reporter noted, "Ruth is just a great, big,

overgrown boy. He loves a good time, and ... there are always scores of admirers on hand to see that it does not suffer any pangs of ennui."

Ruth was a rock star before rock and roll—or maybe describing him as a rapper, with that genre's fetish for cash and women, would be more appropriate. "Sports was annexed by the burgeoning entertainment industry of the 1920s," historian Ann Douglas observes in her book *Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s*, "and the man most responsible for their transformation was Babe Ruth." "Our national exaggeration," sportswriter Bill McGeehan called him. "All or nothing" was his motto, and he epitomized the "watch me—I'm a wow!" ethos. The Babe endorsed everything from baseball cards to cigars and cars.

My grandfather never approached such stardom. His career inspired a movie, but, in characteristically unassuming style, he may never have realized that he was the model for Joe Hardy in "Damn Yankees." In 1954, a young journalist named Douglass Wallop published a book called *The Year the Yankees Lost the Pennant*. It would change titles and become a play and then a film. Wallop dated Judge's daughter, my Aunt Dorothy, in the 1940s. Dorothy recalls that Wallop "was steeped in Senators history" and would spend hours at the house in Chevy Chase exchanging stories with her father.

But the ultimate cap on his career eluded Joe Judge: he never made it into the Hall of Fame. This might have something to do with a piece my grandfather published in 1959, four years before his death. It has long been an open secret in the family that the article was actually written by my father, who at the time was a writer for *Life* magazine. Called "Verdict Against the Hall of Fame," it ran in the June 6, 1959 issue of *Sports Illustrated* and argued strenuously that

the Hall of Fame was admitting players who didn't deserve to be there. "The Hall has lost some of its meaning and much of its glory in recent years," it read. My grandfather—or my father—named players who were in the Hall for inappropriate reasons. Joe Tinkers, Johnny Evers, and Frank Chance were in simply because of the ring of their double-play combination. Tinkers to Evers to Chance. Tinkers's lifetime average was .264, Evers's .270. The article also pointed to catcher Ray Schacht, lifetime average .253, and catcher Rabbit Maranville, who never hit over .300. The essay then blasted the growing tendency to favor players with more personality than talent: "To be a credit to the game of baseball, a man need not have got off a record number of wise cracks or assembled a record number of feature-stories. There are a lot of colorful palookas." He went on:

In my day, by the time the infield was finished spitting tobacco juice and licorice and rubbing the ball down with mud, especially on a dark afternoon, the ball would come at you looking like a clump of coal. A great hitter would lay the wood on it regardless of the side it was thrown from or the stuff on it. That same man could steal the base that made the difference. He was fast enough so that the hit-and-run and bunt-and-run were always possible. And when he got back to his position he would come up with a great catch, the great save, the great throw that meant winning instead of losing.

Today many so-called sluggers couldn't steal a base if they were alone in the park. They are not expected to throw too well or run too fast as long as they can belt the ball out of the park when their one moment of usefulness arrives. The

idea of being a team member sometimes is lost completely, and what we have is an association of specialist businessmen investing their specific talents and carefully watching their own special interests ...

Joe Judge would be gone within four years. He died after suffering a heart attack while shoveling snow on March 11, 1963. The papers reported the news, calling him "The greatest of all the Senators' first basemen." Columnist George Clifford of the *Washington Daily News* summed him up this way: "Joe Judge was not a character in the clownish, bittersweet fashion of sports. The stories about him become legends simply because of his ability." Perhaps the best line came from Sam Rice, the great Senators outfielder. When Rice learned of Judge's death he said, "There was no play he couldn't make."

My grandfather wouldn't have imagined that his Senators would leave Washington. But on September 30, 1971, almost 20,000 fans packed RFK Stadium for the final game. My father was too distraught to make the trip, and my mother later revealed that he wept out of the sight of the family.

Now baseball is back. The ground crew at RFK will soon be preparing for the new team and by spring 2008, Washington will have a new stadium. It may even manage a statue or two. But the legends belong to another age. Gentlemen ballplayers like Joe Judge and Walter Johnson won't again run the bases because we've retired the old legends for a new kind of hero: steroid-bloated jewelry display cases with contracts as inflated as their egos. ■

*Mark Gauvreau Judge is the author of Damn Senators: My Grandfather and the Story of Washington's Only World Series Championship and If It Ain't Got That Swing.*



# The Emperor's New Economics

Contrary to establishment myths, shipping jobs overseas leaves American workers worse off.

**By Lou Dobbs**

GREGORY MANKIW is a lanky, bespectacled, low-key guy who looks the part of a former Harvard professor of economics, which he is. He's also the chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, and along with the president's economics adviser Stephen Friedman, he has the greatest access to President Bush on economic policy. Mankiw, however, chose early this year publicly to support the shipment of American jobs to cheap overseas labor markets. He caused a brief outcry in Congress, and even the always-loyal Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert was moved to separate himself from Mankiw's statement. Mankiw said, "Outsourcing is just a new way of doing international trade. We are very used to goods being produced abroad and being shipped here on ships or planes. What we're not used to is services being produced abroad and being sent here over the Internet or telephone wires ... I think outsourcing is a growing phenomenon, but it's something that we should realize is probably a plus for the economy in the long run."

A number of people on Capitol Hill thought Mankiw should have resigned, but I disagreed. On my CNN show that night, I called on the president to fire him, not merely because I obviously disagree with him, but because Mankiw's statement raised the administration's support of overseas outsourcing to a declaration of government policy.

Now, maybe I'm being somewhat brittle about the matter, but I just happen to

believe that our government should be on the side of American working men and women, not aiding and abetting the destruction of their jobs by supporting a business practice that even Mankiw said could "probably be a plus for the economy in the long run." Probably? It could also be a probable negative. It certainly is if you're one of the hundreds of thousands who've lost their jobs to outsourcing. When he added a further qualifier to his support by saying "in the long run," Mankiw kept his credentials as an economist in good standing. How long is the long run? How many jobs do we have to lose to outsourcing to determine whether it really is a plus or a definite negative?

Mankiw spoke for the administration in his early support of outsourcing, and since then the Bush economic team has taken its advocacy of free trade at any price to new heights. The White House is not only making statements like "outsourcing is good for the American worker" but is defending its free-trade policies by insisting that all of us who are concerned about chronic, bulging trade deficits and the outsourcing of American jobs are "economic isolationists."

Really? I certainly have never called for protectionist trade policies, only fair trade policies. I've never called for an isolationist trade policy, only balanced trade. And frankly, I don't know anyone who has advocated any policy that could be honestly described as economic isolationism.

And neither does the Bush administration. At a time when we should be having an honest dialogue about the impact of overseas outsourcing and free trade on American workers, the administration has chosen to indulge in rhetorical gamesmanship while ignoring the national cost of a half-trillion-dollar trade deficit, the huge quantities of foreign capital that we are now dependent on, and the emergence of a national policy that puts our working men and women in direct competition for employment with a Third World labor force that will work far cheaper than Americans. There are a lot of misconceptions to address when we finally do begin that dialogue and a lot of myths to dispel.

## **Myth No. 1: Outsourcing American jobs is good for our economy.**

Even the chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers couldn't go beyond saying outsourcing is "probably" a plus for our economy, "in the long run." The problem is, there's no empirical evidence to support that position. We do know that workers who have lost their jobs to overseas outsourcing are finding new jobs that pay only about 80 percent of their original wages. And we do know that there are tremendous costs to the government to provide unemployment benefits and retrain these laid-off workers. Outsourcing may be good for the profits of U.S. multinationals, but that isn't really the issue, is it?

## **Myth No. 2: Outsourcing has improved productivity growth and the creation of high-value jobs.**

Our gains in productivity have resulted from (1) improvements in business processes and operations as a result of the application of new technology, (2) employees who are lucky enough to have had jobs for the past several years and are working longer hours for basically static compensation, and (3) moving production and shipping American jobs overseas to provide goods and services to the U.S. market.

As for creation of high-value jobs, the numbers speak for themselves, and they are not encouraging. When the Bureau of Labor Statistics released its ten-year projections for American job growth in February 2004, seven of the ten biggest areas of job growth were in menial or low-paying service jobs.

## **Myth No. 3: Outsourcing is simply a part of free trade, and classical economists like Adam Smith and David Ricardo would have loved it.**

Adam Smith believed that free trade allowed countries to concentrate their production on goods in which they had a natural advantage and to acquire through trade other goods better produced by other countries. David Ricardo developed the concept of comparative advantage, which held that nations can benefit from free trade by concentrating their production on goods they can produce most efficiently, acquiring through trade other goods that permit them to concentrate on their comparative advantage and thereby enlarge their economy. Smith and Ricardo did not envision a trade relationship in which there wasn't mutuality of benefit, that is, balance. Both economists assumed that national economies would act with a clear understanding of national self-interest.

I strongly doubt that either Smith or Ricardo would be pleased to find their

free-trade theories being used to support the transfer of factors of production from developed nations to Third World nations, to take advantage of all but limitless supplies of cheap foreign labor. They also could not have imagined that one nation would effectively risk bankrupting itself by transferring its comparative advantage of knowledge base, expertise, and capital to its trading partners, and then ship its jobs overseas as well. Our current trade policies aren't *laissez faire* but rather *c'est la vie*.

## **Myth No. 4: Our economy and consumers are strong enough to run large chronic deficits, and historically a trade surplus is a sign of a weakening economy.**

This bizarre assertion was made by Congressman David Dreier. The dapper Republican from California is the personification of the free-trade-at-any-cost philosophy, and unlike many in the Republican Party, he has the courage of his convictions.

The congressman is partially correct, to the extent that a trade surplus might occur when an economy weakens or goes into recession and the purchase of imports declines. But the reality is that with our chronic trade deficits, we are approaching \$4 trillion in accumulated trade debt and must borrow foreign capital to buy foreign goods. As a result, our massive chronic trade deficits are clear evidence that our economy is not producing enough goods for domestic consumption and not producing enough goods that the world wants to buy or can afford. If that's not weakness, I don't know what is.

## **Myth No. 5: The only alternative to free trade is protectionism or "economic isolationism."**

The free traders, within and without the Bush administration, have taken to casting the outsourcing and free-trade

arguments in terms of false choices: insisting that there is only free trade, as currently practiced, or no trade. But between the polar extremes of free trade and isolationism are a wide range of policy choices in which we negotiate trade agreements that are reciprocal in benefit—unlike the World Trade Organization or trade agreements like NAFTA. We have ten years' experience with the WTO, and we have 11 years' experience with NAFTA. That experience shows that free trade is not working for the United States. When one side—namely, the United States—is carrying a half-trillion-dollar trade deficit, it's clearly not benefiting us. Many of our biggest trading partners, notably China, are engaging in obstructed trade, yet our leaders keep insisting that it's free and fair. They state that this is the only way it can work, or else we become protectionist.

Well, the Chinese are protectionists, the Japanese are, and so is much of the EU. And they all have trade surpluses. Why should the United States not be able to achieve a surplus as well or at least balanced trade?

## **Myth No. 6: Job retraining is the way to deal with outsourcing. Whenever industries and jobs have left our shores, we've retrained the workers for better jobs.**

I think James Glassman, columnist for the *Washington Post* and an American Enterprise Institute fellow, answered this one just fine on my show. When I asked him what we would be retraining workers for, Glassman said, "One of the things about a dynamic economy is, we don't know what the jobs are." And that's the point. When you're exporting jobs that are at or near the top of what we consider professional careers, where is the next step up? How do you tell radiologists, lawyers, or architects that they can be retrained for better careers when they've already been to college, apprenticed and interned, and now are in desir-

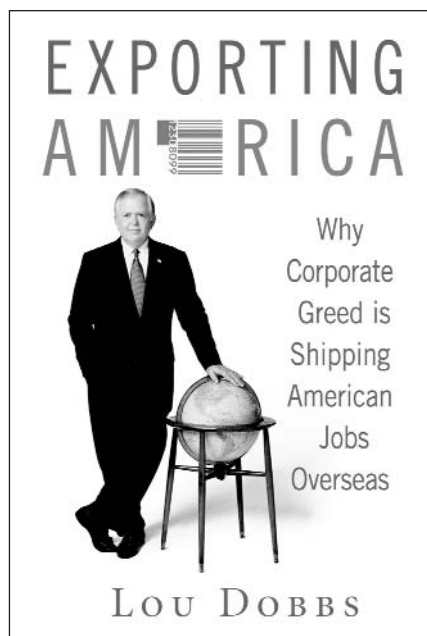
able and well-paying positions? What are they going to be offered in the way of a better job?

When free traders like Glassman say, "Don't worry, we retrained blacksmiths after the advent of automobiles," they're talking about a move from one kind of production to a new one. We didn't just stop using horses and wait around for a better form of transportation—it had already arrived. That, however, is what's happening with outsourcing of American jobs. We're outsourcing high-paying service and professional jobs, yet there isn't a new job that is attracting labor, at least not in this country.

Blacksmiths didn't lose their livelihood and then wait years for the introduction of the automobile. The automobile industry that forced blacksmiths and carriage makers out of business simultaneously created new jobs. Americans are not losing their jobs to a dynamic, rapidly changing economy. Americans are losing jobs because we permit U.S. multinationals to force American workers to compete with cheap foreign labor.

**Myth No. 7: Outsourcing benefits everyone. Look at what happens when Honda outsources to the United States and builds cars here. The United States is insourcing as many jobs as it's exporting.**

"Insourcing," as the Bush administration, the multinationals, and other free traders like to call the building of foreign factories in this country, is a sham argument. Honda, Toyota, and BMW, for example, built plants here to win access to the world's richest car markets. That required them to make an investment in American-based facilities and American workers. There is no similarity of any kind between the foreign companies' hiring of Americans to staff these "transplants" and the exporting of American jobs to India or other Third World countries simply to take advantage of cheap



labor, rather than enter a foreign market. The hiring of American workers in plants owned by foreign companies is not analogous in any way to IBM's shipping 10,000 jobs to India solely for the purpose of paying lower wages.

Under the direction of the Reagan administration, Congress and the U.S. trade representative forced import quotas against Japanese auto manufacturers after Japanese vehicle exports swamped our shores. The administration forced the building of plants by companies like Honda and Nissan and BMW in return for greater access to the world's largest consumer market. What the current administration and free-trade proponents like to call insourcing is really just foreign direct investment in the United States. Those foreign-based companies build here and they sell here. They don't build cars here and then send those cars back to Japan or Germany for sale. They are building here to get access to our market, and they're doing a good job of it. On the other hand, our trade agreements rarely open up foreign markets to the degree that the United States has opened up its markets. We don't sell into those other markets because we can't.

**Myth No. 8: The goal of outsourcing jobs overseas is to increase productivity, not simply to cut wage costs.**

Outsourcing proponents claim that it's all about productivity, not price. Almost everyone agrees that the American

worker is the most highly productive worker in the world—and among the costliest. But for reasons of public relations, U.S. multinationals are loath to say they're exporting American jobs simply to cut their labor costs. No, instead they or their consultants say they're shipping jobs to cheap foreign labor markets to achieve "efficiency" or "higher productivity" or to raise their competitiveness.

Nonsense. It's like the old saying: "When they say it ain't the price, it's the price." To achieve lower labor costs, the U.S. multinationals are using their corporate consultants to dress up the language and their rationale. And the consultants are being paid handsomely to do so. But the simple truth is that our multinationals and our elected officials who support them without reservation are callously and shamelessly selling out the American worker.

**Myth No. 9: When corporate America outsources jobs overseas, it enlarges its knowledge base and creates not only more jobs here but high-value jobs.**

John Castellani, president of the Business Roundtable, said earlier this year, "Shifting routine computer programming, back-office, and call center jobs overseas does reduce the number of American jobs in those areas, but the cost savings generates new capital to finance the remarkable ingenuity of our economic system, to create new, higher-wage jobs here in the United States." That's the world we all wish we lived in. The problem is, there is absolutely no empirical evidence or data to support the statement. In fact, jobs lost are being replaced by lower-paying jobs.

Tom Donohue, president and CEO of the largest business organization in the country, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, says that the United States also gains technical knowledge by exporting American jobs. Now, Tom is one of the

smartest and most aggressive spokespersons for any cause or group in Washington, and a likeable fellow. But he's just plain wrong. Knowledge and expertise are moving from the United States to the cheap foreign labor markets along with our jobs. We're not only exporting American jobs, we're exporting our technology advantage.

**Myth No. 10: We want to see countries like India prosper. Outsourcing helps their economies and their workers.**

I really hope that none of the people who use this argument are suggesting that we create a middle class anywhere in the world at the expense of our own. Because for those who live and work here, for those who run companies based here, their first and foremost national concern should be the welfare of their own nation. There's no way you can help build your neighbor's house when your own is on fire.

Certainly we must aid other countries, but that doesn't mean we need to send our jobs to them at the expense of our own prosperity. The elitist one-worlders surely won't continue to demand that we consign our workers to an ongoing labor competition with China, the Philippines, India, Haiti, and Mexico. Those who claim that we have a higher responsibility to the world economy than to American workers might consider a visit to their local unemployment office to talk with a few of the people in the lines.

**Myth No. 11: U.S. multinationals are outsourcing because Americans aren't well enough educated to fill the jobs.**

First, it's simply untrue. The more jobs corporate America outsources, the fewer workers to pay local, state, and federal taxes, which further punishes our struggling public education system. As corporate America is fond of saying, companies don't pay taxes; people do.

And if people don't have jobs, our tax base diminishes, and we have less to support public education. U.S. multinationals should be spending money setting up training for public school students and volunteering to work in our schools rather than lamenting the poor quality of education.

This past year enrollments in computer engineering jobs dropped 23 percent. MIT, arguably one of the most prestigious schools in the world, announced that enrollment in its engineering programs has dropped 33 percent in the past two years. Chinese schools now graduate more than 350,000 engineers every year, far above the approximately 90,000 who graduate annually from American institutions.

I hear some of the world's biggest technology companies bragging about the amount of money they spend on research and development. But they don't always make the distinction between R&D that's going on in this country and R&D that's going on in newly created facilities in other countries—facilities that house the labor that is replacing American workers. Microsoft pledged \$400 million last year to create resources in India, on top of some \$750 million it had already promised to China. That's more than a billion dollars that Microsoft has put into other countries while thousands of software programmers in the United States—still home to Microsoft—go looking for work.

**Myth No. 12: U.S. companies have to compete in a world market. Even if everyone agreed that outsourcing is terrible, there's no way to stop it.**

This is the fatalism defense of outsourcing. The multinationals say there's no practical way to end outsourcing. The reality is that we could end it tomorrow. Bruce Josten, executive vice president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, told me that the issue was complicated and that his members were still trying to

figure out the ramifications, the laws, and the actual numbers of employees directly affected. I asked Bruce what he would think of a moratorium on outsourcing by corporate America until his colleagues worked out the details with Congress and academia. Josten said he'd rather see Congress pass tort reform and rather we had a moratorium on politicians at the state level introducing bills to stop outsourcing.

In other words, no moratorium on outsourcing—even though that would at least temporarily halt the practice and give us the time necessary to determine how many jobs have been shipped out of the country and how many more are at risk, and time to create a national policy on the subject. But of course, that's the real point: corporate America doesn't want the public to know the real numbers, or the real impact, and the last thing it wants is a national policy on the issue.

All these myths and the facts that dispel them have been part of the early stages of a public dialogue, from the factory floor to the set of my show, from the floor of the U.S. Senate to the water cooler. Despite the extraordinary efforts of the multinationals, their lobbyists, and the politicians they support to distort the debate on the critical issue of outsourcing, I believe that nearly all working Americans understand that not only truth is being assaulted but also our economic future and our way of life. ■

*Lou Dobbs is a nationally syndicated columnist and is the anchor and managing editor CNN's "Lou Dobbs Tonight." This is taken from the book Exporting America: Why Corporate Greed Is Shipping American Jobs Overseas. Copyright (c) 2004 by The Dobbs Group. Reprinted by permission of Warner Books, Inc, New York, NY. All rights reserved.*



# Southern Comfort

Alabama in 1957 was a green land of limestone and second-growth forest, of slow hot summers and sprawling peanut fields that breathed a salubrious indolence.

(We called peanuts goober peas, as is proper.) Alabama was then its own place. The accent was slow and sweet as sorghum dripping on cornbread (which people in fact ate), a lilting and calming influence that kept the language from falling over itself in undue hurry. The memory of Sherman still gripped the South. When I arrived from Virginia as a kid of 11, the other kids called me “that damnyank on the corner” until I learned to swathe words in cushioning syllables.

Alabama pretty much belonged to the Alabamans, which did not then seem a disturbing idea.

I lived in Athens, very much a small town and a vertex of the Huntsville-Decatur-Athens triangle. My father was a mathematician at the Army Ballistic Missile Agency in Huntsville. We had little money because, until Sputnik went up later in the year, mathematicians were not esteemed in America. My parents came to Athens because they loathed the North with its hurry and ill manners and no sense of the past.

Kids then spent the summer barefoot, not because they couldn’t afford shoes but because it was free and comfortable. Attitudes were Southern. Folks were courteous and friendly, but if you pushed them too hard you could end up wishing you hadn’t. People pretty much made up their own minds what they would allow within their ambit. Kids walked to the town square where the Limestone Drugstore was and sat unshod within to read comics. The owner, Coochie, an elderly

redhead, didn’t care. It was his store. There was then no federal nanny in the Yankee Capital to tell us that feet were a health hazard. I do not remember an outbreak of plague.

For two glorious years I lived as a Huck Finn simulacrum. Only later did I realize how wonderful it had been. Come a summer morning, I set out with the equipment of boyhood, a fielder’s mitt and a BB gun. I came back for supper. My mother didn’t care because nothing much could happen to you in Athens.

The family dog too went out when she wanted, went where she wanted, and came back when she was ready. I do not remember that any deaths resulted from this dangerous practice.

Kids all had BB guns. Most had the \$4.50 Red Ryder model, but I had managed to get the Daisy Eagle with the plastic yet somewhat functioning telescopic sight. BBs were sold everywhere, a nickel for a pack of perhaps a hundred. I will always remember the glinting arc of the BB across the sky as it left the barrel, the eye for elevation and Kentucky windage that made us dead shots at 11. No one thought that BB guns were bad. I do not remember BB-induced legions of dead and crippled, of maimed and halt.

I used to go down to where a rusting iron footbridge crossed the swamp near the Valley Gin Company. In the North, gin is vodka made insufferable by the addition of juniper juice. In the South, it was a place that removed seeds from cotton. Beneath the bridge a stream

sparkled, occasionally leaping with schools of minnows being chased by something hungry.

In the sunlight, swamp plants glowed luminous green as if lit from within and dragonflies whizzed about. We called them snake doctors, as one should, though in some parts they are known as skeeter hawks or the devil’s darning needles. In the solitude I shot at them but could never hit them. They were fearsome things, iridescent blue and green, and looked as if they should sting. They didn’t.

Occasionally—oh, glory!—a cottonmouth rested against a pipe that lay submerged by the current, and we got a shot at it. One summer I killed 13, than which life don’t get no better. No one thought I needed a hunting license, adult supervision, armor, or snake-loss counselling. I was just a towheaded kid with a BB gun. It was an explanation that satisfied everyone.

On days when the sun would have baked the brains of anyone but a small boy, we straggled to the Limestone to read comics. Boys piled their mitts and BB guns in a corner, grabbed sheaves of Plastic Man and Batman and Green Lantern from the comic rack, and adjourned for hours to marble-topped tables. I don’t think anyone ever bought a comic at the Limestone. The pages slowly crumbled. The store couldn’t have made much money on our cherry cokes and chocolate cokes (and, so help me, there was a tomato coke). Coochie just liked kids.

It couldn’t happen now. Corporate wouldn’t approve. But Coochie was corporate. People pretty much made up their own minds about their lives then. It seemed reasonable to me. It still does. ■

# Arts & Letters

## FILM

[*Being Julia*, *Stage Beauty*,  
*Team America*]

### The World's A Stage

By Steve Sailer

IN OCTOBER, three films about stage actors debut. Annette Bening plays a leading lady of the 1930s West End in "Being Julia"; Billy Crudup portrays the last youth to appear as Desdemona before King Charles II legalized actresses in the 1660s in "Stage Beauty"; and Trey Parker of "South Park" notoriety provides the voice of the "best actor on Broadway," who uses his thespian skills to infiltrate terrorist gangs in the R-rated marionette movie "Team America: World Police."

"Being Julia" is based on the 1937 W. Somerset Maugham novel *Theatre*. The plot was later borrowed by "All About Eve," although here there's a happy ending. An aging star who doesn't have much of a self when she's offstage idly begins an affair with a very young American social-climber, only to lose him and her complaisant husband (Jeremy Irons), to a devious ingénue who intends to upstage Julia in their new production. Yet while Julia may be over the hill in the bedroom, she remains the grandmistress on the boards. On opening night, she amusingly puts her young rival in her place.

"Being Julia" offers a flashy acting-for-the-sake-of-acting role that has Oscar written all over it. Sadly, I don't think

Bening, who was nominated for "The Grifters" and "American Beauty," quite delivers. Perhaps that's because she's not very much like her competitive character. Certainly, many actresses are shallow, grasping careerists, yet a surprising number really are as womanly as they appear on screen, proving it by sacrificing their late thirties, when their careers would normally peak, to having children. The 46-year-old Bening, for example, gave her husband Warren Beatty four babies between 1992 and 2000.

Movie stars are normally terrible at playing the opposite sex because the reason they are stars is that they so exemplify their own sex. Remember "Tootsie"? It was a symposium on character acting by Bill Murray, Charles Durning, and Jessica Lange, but Dustin Hoffman couldn't pass as a woman in the eyes of the drunkest sailor in Subic Bay.

The delicately featured Billy Crudup isn't quite a star—he's best known as the 1970s guitar god in "Almost Famous"—but he doesn't make a persuasive woman either in the interesting but slightly quease-inducing "Stage Beauty." That the rugged Duke of Buckingham would find him an acceptable female substitute, even in Desdemona drag, seems unlikely. Part of the problem is that Crudup is 36 while the historical figure he's playing, Edward Kynaston, was only 21 when the King ended his transvestite career.

John Derbyshire tells me that he constantly gets e-mails from homosexuals asserting that every famous individual in history was one of their fraternity: Johann Sebastian Bach? The only reason he fathered 20 children, honey, was to cover up his being as gay as a French horn. Yet much of the homosexuality actually recorded by history appears to have been radically different from modern

"egalitarian" homosexuality. It was opportunistic, exploitative, often ped-erastic, as it remains today in the Middle East. Indeed, many of the famous personages that homosexuals like to call their own later matured into heterosexuality, which contemporary gays claim is impossible.

Kynaston, for instance, returned to play Othello, married, and had children. In "Stage Beauty," it's pleasing to see Crudup reclaim the masculinity that his cruel apprenticeship had buried by making his comeback as the manly Moor of Venice. Still, for him to introduce Restoration audiences to method acting by portraying Othello as a 17th-century Stanley Kowalski is a head-scratching anachronism.

In the puppet picture "Team America: World Police," young Gary Johnston is slaying Broadway audiences in "Lease: The Musical" with his show-stopping protest number "Everyone Has AIDS." A top-secret antiterrorist commando squad recruits him to worm his way into a Chechen operation buying WMD in Cairo. He succeeds, but his comrades, while in hot pursuit, accidentally blow up the Sphinx and the Great Pyramid. When Alec Baldwin, head of the Film Actors Guild, protests Team America's destructiveness, North Korea's sinister (but Elmer Fudd-like) Kim Jong Il invites the lefty members of F.A.G. to a Pyongyang "peace" conference to further his fiendish plot.

While quite funny, be aware that "Team America's" language is brutally filthy because the "South Park" guys graphically spell out the buried meanings of common obscenities, which originated in those bad old days of predatory bisexuality that poor Kynaston survived. Don't be fooled by the puppets: keep your kids away. ■

## BOOKS

[*The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace*, Dennis Ross, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 872 pages]

# The Peace That Failed

By Michael C. Desch

FORMER AMERICAN MIDDLE EAST envoy Dennis Ross is a dedicated public servant deeply committed to achieving peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors. In his new book *The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace*, Ross works hard to be evenhanded in this account of why his efforts, spanning both Democratic and Republican administrations, failed to establish peace between Israel and two of its neighbors, Syria and Palestine.

At one level, Ross succeeds in producing an admirably comprehensive history of the process. But on a deeper level, Ross—now counselor to the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and a Fox News analyst—fails to provide a “fair and balanced” assessment of the history he recounts. While he is critical of the top leaders on both sides and freely admits that all parties—himself included—made mistakes, he lays the blame for the failure of the peace process at the feet of the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasir Arafat. As Ross puts it, “I would not now be writing about the failings of Oslo if it had not been for Yasir Arafat.”

This one-sided indictment raises important questions: is Ross’s interpretation of the ultimate failure of Camp David consistent with the historical record, including his own account of events? If not, what caused the disjunction between the known history and his analysis? In fact, Ross’s conclusion that

Arafat and the Palestinians are principally to blame does not follow from his narrative, much less from the rest of the literature on the peace process. Ross’s faulty assessment results from a set of biases shared among many Americans but exacerbated in Ross’s case by his personal and religious ties to Israel and by his all-too-human need to find someone to blame. Because the United States and Israel are *de facto* allies and Ross is so deeply committed to Israel, he cannot blame the Israelis or the Americans, even if the historical record would suggest that they bear an important share of the responsibility for the collapse of the peace process. Hence, Arafat and the Palestinians must take the rap.

As with so many bitter and long-running struggles to control the same piece of territory, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has produced very different stories about how it started and who is at fault for perpetuating it. Dennis Ross offers what is by now the standard American and Israeli story. In this account, the Jews who immigrated to Palestine prior to 1948 did so seeking refuge from oppression. They were willing to live in a bi-national state with the Arab inhabitants but this offer was spurned, and so the Zionists had to fight for their own independence. Since 1948, Israel has stood as the Middle East’s only democracy in a sea of hostile neighbors. With pluck and courage (and ever increasing

In Ross’s story, the Israel-Palestinian conflict followed much the same course. Arafat and the PLO were never interested in peace until after the 1991 Gulf War, when Arafat imprudently backed Saddam and isolated the Palestinians internationally. This isolation forced the Palestinians to get serious about peace and led to the historic Oslo Accords in 1993. Unfortunately, the Oslo process ground to a halt, in the Israeli and American interpretation, because of continuing Palestinian terrorism.

In addition to a general Palestinian unwillingness to rein in terror (presumably reflecting an unwillingness to live in peace next to the Jewish state), Ross attributes the failure of the July 2000 Camp David summit to Palestinian obstructionism. In his words: “The summit was about to collapse. The President had made his best effort, and now so had Barak. Arafat has said no to everything.” The final nail in the peace process’s coffin, in Ross’s view, was Arafat’s rejection of the December 2000 “Clinton parameters,” which would have given the Palestinians control of most of the West Bank, Gaza, and parts of Jerusalem. To paraphrase Abba Eban’s famous line: Arafat never misses a chance to miss an opportunity for peace. This account of the missing peace is widely accepted in Israel, and to the extent that Americans know and care about why the peace process failed, this is their understanding too.

**IT IS NOT CORRECT TO SAY THAT ISRAEL ACCEPTED THE CLINTON PARAMETERS WHILE THE PALESTINIANS REJECTED THEM.**

American support), the Israelis managed to survive. In spite of unrelenting Arab hostility, the Israelis have repeatedly stretched out the hand of peace, only to have it slapped away. Only the Egyptians and the Jordanians eventually realized the futility of trying to destroy Israel and have been willing to make a peace, albeit one that remains chilly and fragile.

But this account is badly flawed. First and perhaps most important, it is not correct to say that Israel accepted the Clinton parameters while the Palestinians rejected them. The Israeli cabinet voted to accept Clinton’s ideas (which were not a final agreement but rather a set of guidelines within which a final settlement would be reached), but Prime Minister Ehud Barak then sent Clinton a

20-page letter outlining Israel's objections. Similarly, the Palestinian leadership also sent Clinton a detailed letter thanking him for his efforts and relating their own reservations. Both sides made clear that they wanted to continue to negotiate within that framework, but both also registered concerns. The claim that Israel accepted these terms while Arafat rejected them is a myth.

This leads to a second problem with Ross's version. The period he covers ends in December 2000 with the alleged Palestinian rejection of the Clinton proposal and Ross's departure from government in early January of the next year. But the story of the peace process does not end there. Most other analysts mark the peace effort's demise after the Israeli-Palestinian meeting at Taba, Egypt in January 2001. This makes a difference, since it was the Israelis who walked away from the progress made at Taba in anticipation of Ariel Sharon's defeat of Ehud Barak. The question of who deserves the most blame for the failure to achieve peace assumes a much different cast when we get what Paul Harvey calls "the rest of the story," which Ross fails to provide.

Few Americans realize that there is a more credible account out there that puts the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in a different light. Ironically, this alternative

story is better known in parts of Israel and Palestine than it is here. Our understanding of the roots of Zionism and the origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict would profit greatly from a careful reading of Israel's "New Historians," such as Avi Shlaim and Benny Morris, who show clearly that the early Zionists were not interested in a bi-national state, were well aware that continued Jewish immigration would lead to conflict with the Arab inhabitants, and were willing to use very harsh methods to win that struggle.

Moreover, there are alternative accounts of the failure of the Oslo/Camp David process by other participants (Robert Malley and Hussein Agha) and independent analysts (Deborah Sontag, Charles Enderlin, and Jeremy Pressman) that lead to very different conclusions about what went wrong and who is to blame. Take the critical question of why Oslo did not set the stage for a final settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Ross and other proponents of the official story emphasize Palestinian terrorism, but other analysts and participants underscore Israel's failure to meet its obligations and point out that the Palestinians had good reasons for being dissatisfied with the Oslo process. In the Palestinians' view, they had surrendered 78 percent of historic Palestine to Israel

when they recognized Israel as a sovereign state at Oslo in 1993; in return, they expected that they would get the remaining 22 percent (the West Bank and Gaza) as part of the final agreement. Yet the Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands continued to deepen and expand after Oslo and the Israeli government began to interfere ever more intrusively in the lives of ordinary Palestinians. Ross mentions these facts only to dismiss them as a pretext for the Palestinian Authority's failure to fulfill its Oslo obligations to ensure Israeli security.

Indeed, on the eve of the 2000 Camp David talks, the Palestinians had legitimate grounds to be disillusioned with the Oslo process. Israel had spent much of the previous seven years pursuing peace with Jordan and Syria rather than working consistently with the Palestinians. While pushing Arafat to come to Camp David to reach a final settlement, Barak simultaneously backed away from Israel's obligations to undertake a third redeployment of Israeli forces in the Occupied Territories, transfer three Arab villages bordering Jerusalem to Palestinian control, and release a significant number of Palestinian prisoners. From the Palestinians' point of view, Barak's willingness to withdraw from Lebanon and unwillingness to fulfill Israel's obligations to them was indicative of Israel's shaky commitment to a fair, lasting peace.

Others' accounts also call into question Ross's argument that the Palestinians made no meaningful concessions. During the time between the Wye River meeting (October 1998) and Taba (January 2001), the Palestinians acknowledged that some settlements would remain on the West Bank in any final deal, accepted that the right of return of Palestinian refugees would be mostly symbolic, acceded to the division of Jerusalem, and eschewed the declaration of an independent Palestinian state before conclusion of a final peace settlement. While a fair case can be made that the PA did not do enough to prevent the September 2000 al-Aqsa riots, the uprising was sparked by

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Israeli opposition leader Ariel Sharon's provocative visit to the Temple Mount and fanned by the brutal Israeli suppression of the protests. (It is worth remembering that Arafat begged Barak not to allow Sharon to visit the Temple Mount, but Barak, worried about Sharon's popularity, refused.) Readers will find most of this in Ross's account, but will no doubt wonder why he then concludes that Arafat and the Palestinians bear the lion's share of the responsibility for the peace process's failure.

One source of Ross's bias is structural: by the late 1980s and early 1990s, the United States and Israel had grown so close that no American official could be an honest broker. Indeed, Ross makes no secret that he regarded his team as working to advance the Israeli agenda. In one telling vignette, he reminds Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, "You are the one who launched us on this path with Assad, and Secretary Christopher has been meticulous in acting on the basis of your guidance." Later he scolds Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu for being difficult on some point because "we are working your agenda" with the Palestinians. Acknowledging that the United States was having trouble convincing the Palestinians of its neutrality, Ross later assures Netanyahu that "we would stand by Israel, but to be most helpful to Israel we had to maintain our ability to influence Israel's negotiating partners; we had to be seen as fair and not simply as parroting or presenting Israeli positions."

Ross's account makes clear that Israel and the United States closely co-ordinated their dealings with the Palestinians and other Arabs. Throughout *The Missing Peace*, Ross writes "we" when referring to Israel and United States. His team operated under "a commitment to share everything first with the Israelis." At a critical juncture in the negotiations, for example, Ross gave the Israelis a highly classified briefing about American military operations against Iraq, while offering Arafat a mere news summary. To be sure, there were important

differences within the American team during the negotiations, but Ross was consistently sympathetic to the Israelis' needs. Given the structure of the relationship, it is hardly surprising that the Palestinians had doubts about American evenhandedness. Ross's narrative shows that they had good reason.

Like most Americans, Ross believes that Israel's security is precarious, even though Israel has hundreds of nuclear weapons, spends more each year on its

There is, of course, no reason to think that an American Jew cannot be objective, but when one's religious and ethnic identity becomes intertwined with the fate of another country, it is hardly surprising if one has trouble maintaining a balanced perspective. This problem naturally is not unique to Zionist Jews; there are also an increasing number of Christian Zionists who have a significant impact on U.S. foreign policy. Most of us would similarly make allowance for

### **ROSS MAKES NO SECRET THAT HE REGARDED HIS TEAM AS WORKING TO ADVANCE THE ISRAELI AGENDA.**

military than its Arab neighbors combined, and enjoys the support of the world's only superpower. This belief made Ross hesitant to criticize Israeli leaders for dragging their feet or making unreasonable demands of the Arabs. Moreover, like many Americans, Ross believes that the primary obstacle to peace is Israel's strategic vulnerability and the only way to make progress is to make Israel more secure. Finally, Ross shares the widely held assumption that U.S. and Israeli interests are largely compatible, if not identical. At one point he notes, "the United States has a special relationship with Israel, enduring regardless of who was in office." The implication is that we are equally obliged to support Yitzhak Rabin or Ariel Sharon, or even the more radical Israeli expansionists who think that Sharon is too soft.

In addition to the structural incentives that would lead almost any American official to tilt toward the Israeli side, there are also personal reasons that Ross would be inclined to favor the Israelis. As Ross acknowledges, "I identified with [Israel's] people, and my own Jewish identity became more important to me as a result. Intrinsically, I believed that Israel had a right to exist and that the Jewish people needed and deserved a homeland, a place of refuge." In other words, Ross was a committed Zionist.

what an anti-Castro Cuban-American had to say about policy toward Cuba or what an Armenian-American might say about the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh.

For Ross, the attachments to Israel run particularly deep. Ross makes clear that he had close relationships with many Israeli leaders, including Rabin and Barak. "I had seen my friend Natan Sharansky for Shabbat," Ross reminisces, "it was nearly a ritual for me to have Shabbat dinner with Natan and his family." He also vacationed in Israel twice during this period, even though he was spending weeks on end there conducting negotiations. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright remarked on this fact, at one point chiding him for taking a "busman's holiday." There is, of course, nothing wrong with a private American citizen doing this, but when an American official like Ross does so, it raises questions about his objectivity. (One might say the same thing about National Security Council staffer Elliot Abrams's recent vacation in Israel, after which the Bush administration reversed the policy of every U.S. president and endorsed Israel retaining a key part of the West Bank.) The question is not whether Ross is a loyal American—he clearly is—but whether he faced a conflict of interest given his personal views on Israel. Assigning the task of ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to someone so

strongly attached to one side was not a recipe for success.

In contrast, Ross's relationship with the Palestinians was much more distant. There were few visits to the houses of Palestinian leaders, aside from business meetings at Arafat's official residences. Ross liked and admired some of his Palestinian colleagues, especially those who criticized Arafat, but his relationship with them was nowhere near as close as it was with most of the Israeli team. Other Palestinians annoyed him, such as Minister of Local Government Saeb Erekat. (To be fair, Ross found Netanyahu equally annoying). But Ross reserves special disdain for Arafat. After Camp David, Ross confessed, "I feared I might lose my cool with Arafat. I had had it with him." Ross's epitaph on the peace process says it all: "Did we ultimately fail because of the mistakes that Barak made and the mistakes that Clinton made? No, each, regardless of his tactical mistakes, was ready to confront history and mythology. Only one leader was unable or unwilling to confront history and mythology: Yasir Arafat."

It is impossible to know whether a more evenhanded intermediary would

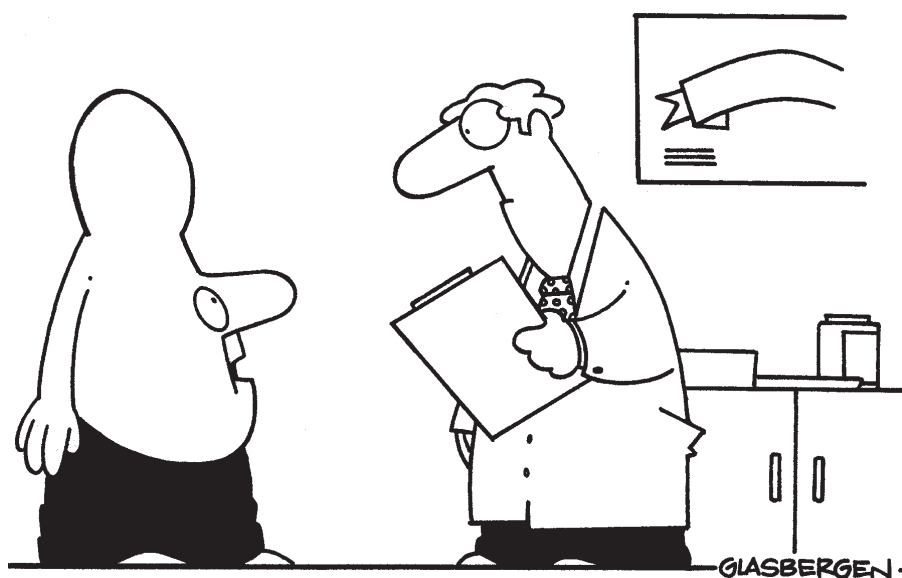
have been more successful, but Ross's lack of empathy for the Palestinian plight cannot have helped. Dismissing their substantive reservations at various points in the peace process as tactical moves, Ross attributes the basest of motives to the Palestinians. In his view, they resisted compromises simply to try to get a better bargain. In a callous moment, Ross concludes that "being a victim has not just become the Palestinian condition: it has become a strategy."

The Israelis understood that Ross and the Americans tilted in their direction and behaved accordingly. Ross recounts an interesting discussion with President Clinton after the two had a testy exchange with Prime Minister Netanyahu. "President Clinton observed: 'He thinks he is the superpower and we are here to do whatever he requires.' No one on our side disagreed with that assessment." At Wye River, Netanyahu was so insistent that Clinton sweeten the deal for Israel by releasing convicted Israeli spy Jonathan Pollard that he nearly caused the resignation of CIA Director George Tenet. Lest we think that suchchutzpah was idiosyncratic to one prime minister, Ross writes, "as was often the case with

Barak, he assumed that the President would simply accommodate his schedule to fit the timetable the Prime Minister deemed appropriate. That the President of the United States might have other obligations—like, for example, going to India and Pakistan—was immaterial and could be adjusted." At Camp David, Clinton became so exasperated with Barak that he exploded: "I went to Shepardstown and was told nothing by you for four days. I went to Geneva and felt like a wooden Indian doing your bidding .... I will not let it happen here [at Camp David]. I will simply not do it." In the end, however, that is pretty much what Clinton did. As long as Israeli leaders treat U.S. presidents as their servants, and as long as U.S. presidents accept that role, the prospects for peace remain dim. Indeed, by enabling Israel's leaders to persist in the policy of occupation that fuels Palestinian violence, America's unthinking support has not made Israel any safer.

Ross's *Missing Peace* is an indispensable history but a one-sided assessment. The book provides crucial detail about the negotiations through the eyes of a key participant. But Ross's pointed indictment of Yasir Arafat and the Palestinians does not even follow from the historical account Ross provides—there is plenty of blame to be shared by all three parties. This disconnect between Ross's history and his analysis is in part the result of structural bias inherent in the U.S.-Israeli relationship: any American policymaker is likely to find it hard to be objective in trying to broker a deal involving a U.S. ally. But this bias is compounded for Ross by his personal commitment to Israel. It used to be that we worried about diplomats going native after long years in the field; in Ross's case, that happened before he ever left home. ■

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"My wife says I need a face lift, but I'm afraid it will make me look weird."

[*Mussolini: The Last 600 Days of Il Duce*, Ray Moseley, Taylor Trade Publishing, 432 pages]

## Salò Saga

By R.J. Stove

"The people would be just as noisy if they were going to see me hanged."

— Oliver Cromwell, commenting on a crowd that cheered him

ONE SELDOM OBSERVED benefit of the Cold War's end is the fact that we can now rejoice in a substantial Mussolini bibliography, to which this book mostly constitutes a valuable addition. Until the early 1990s, precious few English-language descriptions of the *Duce* transcended crassly simplistic agitprop: the poor innocent oppressed Italian masses (four legs good) groaning under the tyranny of a satanic blood-drinking totalitarian (two legs bad). Even such shrewd and diligent Mussolini biographers as Christopher Hibbert seemed almost apologetic about mentioning data that hinted at Communists' activities in controlling and memorializing wartime resistance. In 2004 the student of Italian Fascism is better off than he has ever been. Admittedly, drab apparatchiks like Denis Mack Smith and euphoric Jacobins like Richard Bosworth continue to wield historiographical influence entirely disproportionate to their talents. Bosworth recently boasted of "cling[ing] to the political ideas and ideals I learned in the 1960s (and which go back to 1789)"; this confession is somehow meant to reassure readers. The difference between today and the Cold War epoch is that these pundits no longer have the field to themselves. Such self-confessed iconoclasts as the Englishman Nicholas Farrell can now gain international attention via major publishing houses for their own, much fresher and less parochial, approaches to the *Duce*. Ray Moseley, former *Chicago Tribune* correspondent,

lacks Farrell's impish panache—in any case, Farrell's own volume seemingly appeared too late for Moseley to have consulted it—but his analyses of prominent Fascists (he devoted his last tome to Mussolini's playboy son-in-law Galeazzo Ciano) reveal a Farrell-like love of primary-source material unknown to most non-Italians.

As his subtitle indicates, Moseley here concerns himself with Mussolini's decline: above all, with his notional 1943-1945 rule over Northern Italy's Salò Republic (*Repubblica Sociale Italiana*, to use its official title), an administration kept in being solely by German arms, when kept in being at all. Very early in Salò's life, just in case Mussolini retained any reckless notions of genuine independence, Croatia's Ante Pavelic annexed—with Hitler's permission—whole slices from the Italian northeast. To this pass, the *Duce's* own dithering had brought him. Even at the height of his political powers he had been, on the whole, one of the least despotic despots whom 20th-century history can show. Italians of high and low degree alike honored the 1938 anti-Jewish legislation more in the breach than in the observance. For two decades the *Duce* boasted of his tough-

EVEN AT THE **HEIGHT OF HIS POLITICAL POWERS** HE HAD BEEN, ON THE WHOLE, ONE OF THE **LEAST DESPOTIC DESPOTS** WHOM 20TH-CENTURY HISTORY CAN SHOW.

guy temperament, echoing King Lear's promise to "do such things—what they are yet I know not—but they shall be the terrors of the earth." Alas for him, he induced scarcely greater awe through such fulminations than Lear did through browbeating Regan and Goneril. His Salò role ("They call me 'Benito Quisling,' and they're right," he once said) exacerbated, rather than engendered, the war in his soul between public bluster and private squeamishness.

Nor did he dare to crush those regional Fascist bosses who had endangered his reign ever since it started in

1922—the likes of Roberto Farinacci and Tullio Tamburini, who considered him a verbose weakling. Of Franco's, or Salazar's, surreptitious strong-arm tactics against over-ambitious colleagues (let alone Hitler's Night of the Long Knives or Stalin's purges), Mussolini was incapable. He equally failed to adumbrate those progressive postcolonial African statesmen who engineered political famines in best Ethiopian style, or who vanquished potential rivals by eating them.

"*Duce*," the *Führer* lamented, "you are too good, you will never be a dictator." Otto Skorzeny, who had rescued Mussolini from incarceration in the Apennines, expressed similar amazement: "He's not a dictator any more, he's a philosopher." On occasion the "philosopher" showed unexpected mettle: ensuring, for instance, that Salò's currency unit remained the lira rather than the German mark. Yet he spent most of the Salò period in a kind of trance, trying without effect to keep the peace between his wife Rachele and his mistress Claretta Petacci; grinding out logorrheic memoirs ("I am like a mad poet," he told his bewildered Culture Minister Fernando Mezza-

soma); avidly collecting newspaper articles, however mendacious, about himself; and obsessively soliloquizing about how history would judge him. (He numbered among his heroes Napoleon, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Bismarck—and Cromwell, whose cadaver's fate had foreshadowed Mussolini's own posthumous destiny.)

It required the Jan. 1944 kangaroo-court trial, at Verona, of Ciano and five others—who the previous July had signed a document urging the *Duce* to renounce supreme command of Italy's armed forces—to shock Mussolini into

realizing how abjectly he depended on the Nazis' goodwill. Hitler vowed that if Mussolini carried out his threat of abandoning politics and letting Ciano free, Italy's north would "envy Poland." Within four days of the trial's opening, five defendants (a sixth escaped the death sentence) met a firing squad so amateurish that "four of the men lay on the ground writhing and screaming while the fifth, [erstwhile Agriculture Minister] Carlo Pareschi, remained seated, apparently untouched by the bullets." All five had to be given *coups de grâce* with pistol shots.

Nonetheless, for certain Salò elements, no judicial murders could ever be messy enough, nor any truckling to Germany blatant enough. Even Farinacci's public snarls at the *Duce's* insufficient Naziphilia looked dignified compared with the radio and print hyperventilations of Giovanni Preziosi, a fantasizing, *Protocols*-peddling defrocked priest convinced that Clemenceau and Lloyd George, not to mention half Salò's own hierarchs, were Jews. Eventually Mussolini adopted what Moseley calls "the Lyndon Johnson solution" (better to have Preziosi inside the tent pissing out

...) and appointed this zany to his cabinet as Inspector-General of Race, but only in the war's very last weeks. The night Salò collapsed, Preziosi hurled himself from a high window. Altogether the leading Salò Fascists—even the most corrupt, such as gold-smuggling Interior Minister Guido Buffarini-Guidi—demonstrated an impressive self-sacrificial fidelity to the *Duce*, often suiciding or letting themselves be executed by partisans rather than desert their leader.

In one respect, and one alone, Mussolini experienced greater satisfaction during Salò than ever before. Being titular head of state as well as head of government, he could let his congenital republicanism flourish uncurbed, no longer needing to feign civility toward his diminutive 1943 nemesis, King Victor Emmanuel III. (British historian Sir Charles Petrie—whose lifelong monarchism ended his early flirtation with the *Duce's* doctrines—observed: "This régime [Salò] did not last long but it lasted long enough for some of the mud which was thrown at the House of Savoy to stick. Particularly was this the case in Piedmont, the old home of the dynasty, where the denigration of the

Royal Family had a very considerable effect on a population which would otherwise have been among its strongest supporters.") Largely forgotten in the fog of war, but especially dear to Mussolini's heart, were Salò's socialistic decrees nationalizing private firms and enforcing worker representation in management committees. Of all political indictments, being charged with betraying socialism infuriated and pained Mussolini the most.

Moseley discusses in remarkable detail, but with great readability and a swift narrative pace, the last 15 months of Italy's war. Prominent events include the slaying of 335 captives in the Ardeatine Caves near Rome (March 1944); the far less renowned, yet still bloodier, Marzabotto massacre (September 1944) southwest of Bologna, in which the SS eradicated more than 1,000 civilians within three days; the extraordinarily elaborate maneuvers, many of them in Switzerland, concerning a possible separate German surrender to America behind Mussolini's back; the *Duce's* own frantic proposal (March 1945) to the Vatican for an Anglo-Americo-Italo-German alliance against Bolshevism; and Claretta's pleas to be allowed to die alongside her lover, pleas so fervent that any self-respecting operatic librettist would have considered them incredible. Exceptionally worthwhile is Moseley's coverage of those surreal weeks in late 1944 when Field-Marshal Alexander urged partisans to cease and desist with winter's onset, and when it looked as if Salò might revive. In October, the republic's Monterosa division briefly managed to fend off Brazilian forces, although desertions continued to plague it, as they plagued the Salò army as a whole. Two months later in Milan, Mussolini found himself cheered by the same hysterically enthusiastic mob which the following April would display equal enthusiasm for inflicting on his corpse outrages so obscene that even battle-hardened American newspapermen bowdlerized their reportage of them.

This absorbing book—at its best when recounting the wildly disparate



"I'm from the same generation as you, so I can relate ... but I don't think you can blame your break up on Yoko.



testimonies that still circulate regarding exactly when, and at whose hands, Mussolini perished—could have been an excellent one but for its periodic lapses into carelessness, at which nothing in Moseley's life of Ciano (*Mussolini's Shadow*) had hinted. The Abyssinian campaign, which Moseley assigns to 1938, had finished two years earlier. Claus von Stauffenberg, *pace* Moseley, was shot rather than hanged. On no fewer than four occasions Franco is labeled "Fascist." And concerning Moseley's description of Mussolini as "the greatest disaster to befall [Italy] in the 20th century," it is easy to list several likelier contenders than the *Duce* for this title. We need merely recollect the Red Brigade; the Mafia, suppressed by Fascism, only to revive exuberantly in the Allies' wake; and the 1978 legalizing (by a Catholic prime minister, at that) of abortion, resulting in today's population implosion and total failure of Italian citizens to outbreed their country's Third World Muslim invaders. If probable as well as actual disasters merit consideration, we can also cite the continuance of that Red terror against which pre-Mussolini cabinets had proven completely impotent in 1920-1922. Any knowledge of Spain in the 1930s, or of Portugal before Salazar's advent, confirms the silliness of hoping that interwar Southern European liberals could maintain the most elementary public order when threatened from the Left. Such complaints aside, Moseley is still recommendable to anyone interested in this under-chronicled area of Italian politics. ■

*R.J. Stove lives in Melbourne, Australia and is the author of The Unsleppng Eye: Secret Police and Their Victims.*

[*Confessions of an Heiress: A Tongue-in-Chic Peek Behind the Pose*, Paris Hilton, Fireside, 178 pages]

## Confessions of An Heir-head

By John Carney

I FIRST BECAME AWARE of Paris Hilton through the gossip pages of the *New York Post*. A column called Page Six (which never actually appears on the sixth page of the tabloid) seemed to present her as a modern-day member of the bottle-green-bowler set from Evelyn Waugh's *Vile Bodies*, her life consisting entirely of parties at New York and Hollywood nightclubs. She seemed not so much glamorous as totally ridiculous.

Paris agrees. "In fact, pretty much everything I read about myself is totally ridiculous. Newspapers and magazines write that I'm spoiled and privileged, and that all I do is dance on tabletops and party with my friends," she writes in the opening paragraph of *Confessions of an Heiress*.

I had assumed that Paris was named for the famously adulterous son of Troy in a sort of classicist-feminist prank by her parents that implied their daughter was to be the judge of beauty in the world rather than just an object in the contest. As a middle-class, Catholic New Yorker with a questionable education, I found this reassuring. It meant that the upper-class had, well, class—an acquaintance with the Greco-Roman sources of our civilization so thorough that they could make clever jokes at the expense of the lower orders, who would only know Paris as that place where people like John Kerry. As Paris writes, "People need to believe your life is better than theirs."

If it was hard to connect this presumed learnedness with the Paris of Page Six, perhaps it was just that the down-market tabloid had misunderstood an appreciation for the Greek practice of the symposium, taking it for simple hedonism. Paris was often seen

but rarely quoted, and it was possible that she was whispering Socratic irony into the ears of her fellow party-hopping heiresses. This possibility was intentionally cultivated. "The way I keep people wondering about me is to smile as much as possible and say as little as possible," she confesses.

This impression of Paris was reinforced by her selection of the Christian genre of confession for her first book. Echoing Saint Augustine's story of his journey from sin to embrace of the grace of God, the title *Confessions of an Heiress* holds out the promise of a cultivated, even spiritual book. Indeed, *Confessions* is centrally concerned with sin. "There is no sin worse in life than being boring—and nothing worse in life than letting other people tell you what to do," writes Paris. It is the conquest of Paris over the sin of dullness and the temptation of obedience that animates her writing.

If you are having trouble imagining "being boring" as a sin, much less the worst sin, you are not alone. No branch of Christianity of which I am aware treats being boring as damnable. (Although, on reflection, this would explain the snake handling, mega-churches, and feverish support for America's wars in the Middle East that characterize certain branches of Christianity.) I found it a helpful mental exercise to imagine the nadir of Dante's *Inferno* as written by Paris in perhaps her next literary venture. In the hell for the boring, we would find neither Brutus nor Judas but Alan Greenspan dwelling around Satan's nether regions. But since being boring and obedience have become sins, Satan himself has been paroled from hell. The mercy of Paris is great.

If these look like the moral priorities of someone whose education has come entirely from gossip pages, there is little in *Confessions* to suggest otherwise. When traveling, Paris tries to "buy as many gossip magazines as possible, and start the trip by reading everything in the world that's recently been written about me." Our confessing heiress seems unaware of any wider world of culture or literature, and after reading her book

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I suspect that this is because so little culture or literature is about her. This is a unique misanthropy: other people are boring, boring is sin, so hell is other people. If her parents are anything like their daughter, I can no longer maintain the hope that she was named for Homer's Trojan troublemaker. It seems far more likely that she was simply named for, well, the Hilton hotel in France's capital.

I'm not being entirely fair. In a sidebar toward the end of *Confessions*, Paris writes, "Contrary to what people think, I do read a lot. I love Candace Bushnell's *Sex and the City* and *Four Blondes*, *Maneater* by Gigi Levangie Grazer, Plum Sykes's *Bergdorf Blondes*, the *Great Gatsby* by F. Scott Fitzgerald, Betina Zikha's *Ultimate Style: the Best of the Best Dressed List*, and anything by Jackie Collins." I will allow the charitable assumption that Paris does not love these books because they remind her of Paris (or because so many of the novels can be read by renting the DVD). And I will not speak about the literary quality of these books. For all I know, *Bergdorf Blondes* could be the *Brothers Karamazov* of pill-

popping, wealthy New York blondes obsessed with shopping. But even Jay Gatsby had a library full of books. They were unread, the pages uncut, but they were there in his house because he felt he needed to appear cultured.

Paris has shrugged off this burden. There are no references to the arts, history, or sciences unless mentioning Gucci and G-5 private jets counts. There are a lot of parties. One begins to wonder if the famous Paris smile is less a Mona Lisa mystery and more the eternal sunshine of a spotless mind. She may find Page Six's portrayal of her life ridiculous, but it is the mirror image of the Paris portrayed in *Confessions*. From the evidence of *Confessions*, Paris the author's attitude toward literature is best captured in the words of her dog Tinkerbelle, who has published his own highly entertaining memoir, *The Tinkerbelle Hilton Diaries*, as told to D. Resin. "Let's stop lording that literacy thing over everybody," Tinkerbelle writes. "You don't have a sex life like the rest of us do, we get it already."

"There has always been a privileged class in America, but it has never been so dangerously isolated from its surroundings," the late Christopher Lasch wrote in *The Revolt of the Elites*. Lasch was writing about an aristocracy of brains with little connection to the historic, rooted America. Although she is absolutely isolated, Paris—and I'll be gentle—makes an improbable representative of the aristocracy of intellect.

What does she represent? Not an elite so much as the ruins of an elite whose time has passed. The process James Burnham described in 1949's *The Managerial Revolution*, whereby the capitalists cede control of the means of production to bureaucratic managers, renders the surviving capitalists as a highly adapted species who have lost their evolutionary niche. They are people without purpose, which begins to explain Paris's idea of sin. Boredom becomes a serious problem, indeed the only serious problem, when responsibility is delegated to experts. As Jefferson said, "I study war so that my children

can study commerce, and their children philosophy and poetry." If we project forward from this trend, the end of this line is Paris studying parties.

Or perhaps pornography. Apart from her two seasons on a Fox television series in which Paris and a friend encounter middle Americans with "comic" results, Paris is best known as the star of a sex tape, a pornographic video featuring her encounters with a man several years her senior that is widely available on the internet. According to the London tabloids, there are more such tapes on the way. Of course, there is no mention of this in the book, although Paris finds it necessary to allude to it at one point because the incident resulted in her hosting an episode of "Saturday Night Live." Like Bill Clinton, she expertly avoids the sources of her notoriety while discussing its repercussions.

For all its relentless focus on Paris, there is surprisingly little by way of biography in *Confessions*. She is the great-granddaughter of Conrad Hilton, the son of a Norwegian immigrant and founder of the Hilton hotel chain. Paris grew up in New York City's Waldorf-Astoria as a sort of real life Eloise, spent her summers in the Hamptons (the modern day equivalent of Jay Gatsby's East Egg), and now lives in Los Angeles. Presumably she went to school somewhere and later worked as a fashion model rather than going to college. There are few biographical clues to explain how Paris came to be the young woman she is today.

Her brief discussion of her family, however, provides an innovative response to political philosopher John Rawls's *Theory of Justice*, which proposes that the best society is the one we would choose if we did not know what talents and family connections we would have in life. "I believe you choose who you're born to," Paris writes. Accordingly, there is no such thing as undeserved fortune. To err may be human, but to be an heiress is simply a matter of choosing to be born into the right family. ■

*John Carney writes from New York City.*

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# The Real Deal



Having to choose between George W. Bush and John Kerry is like navigating between Scylla and Charybdis. On one side lurks the hoary beast of a

decent man brought down by the neo-cons and their agenda of world domination. On the other churns the vortex of a man who is right on nothing and is willing to betray anyone—as he did his fellow soldiers, sailors, and Marines when he painted them as war criminals—in order to achieve recognition and high office. It is obviously a very difficult choice, so I will take the third way. But first, as my colleague Pat Buchanan states in his endorsement of the president, “Bush is right on taxes, judges, sovereignty, and values. Kerry is right on nothing.” So why not Bush? Why not do, as Pat says, what the pirate Jean Lafitte did when he asked to fight alongside his countrymen against the Redcoats in the Battle of New Orleans? I am, after all, a lifelong conservative Republican.

The answer is that the party of Barry Goldwater, Ronald Reagan, and William F. Buckley Jr., a party motivated by libertarian impulses and deep convictions about personal freedoms, ain’t no more. Since when is a Leviathan federal government with a record deficit a conservative Republican one? How does a Bush administration supposedly committed to ideas like limited government, personal freedom, and a balanced budget explain a \$450 billion budget deficit, the loss of American manufacturing jobs, and the promise of an amnesty for illegal aliens? How can the party of Robert A. Taft excuse the catastrophic war against Iraq and the idea that those who opposed it to are traitors, an accusation Pat, Scott, and I were tarred with by Ariel Sharon’s agent David Frum?

The words of Gen. George C. Marshall, the Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army during World War II, come to mind: “I would be loath to hazard American lives for purely political purposes.” Yet Bush continues to heed men whose policies have radicalized the Mideast and converted much of the Islamic world into a giant recruiting station for Osama bin Laden. As Buchanan wrote recently, the Republican Party is now the party of big business, big government, and big war.

Tom DeLay is a disgrace, a brutal fund-raiser who resembles Robert Torricelli and Alfonse D’Amato, not what a conservative Republican House majority leader should be in my book. Once upon a time, conservatives believed in ideas and individualism, now it seems money and power are what counts. So despite his personal decency, I cannot in all honesty endorse Bush for a second term.

Kerry, of course, is far worse, a disaster in the making. Not only has he dismissed the president’s promises to enact amnesty for illegal aliens as insufficient, he has vowed to sign an amnesty within his first 100 days in office. Again, as Pat writes in his endorsement of the president, the people on Kerry’s side are all those I despise, the George Soros, Barbra Streisands, and Michael Moores of this world. What unites the Kerry army is hate for George W. Bush. Marching under the Michael Moore banner, they have no message except to get rid of the 43rd president. If this is a policy, I’m Monica Lewinsky. Their self-righteous anger is negative and as dishonest as John Kerry’s false populism. Signing

the Kyoto Protocol and adhering to the rules of the International Criminal Court will only weaken America and yield national sovereignty.

Which brings me to my choice, Michael Anthony Peroutka. Yes, I know, it sounds like a wasted vote, but is it? He is the nominee of a small third party called the Constitution Party. The point of voting for Peroutka is to help create an alternative. After all, there has to be a start somewhere and adhering to the Constitution as Peroutka advocates is a pretty good way to begin.

Peroutka defines his party as a Christian one dedicated to preserving the foundations on which the American Republic was based. He is predictably against abortion and gay marriage. Peroutka is also opposed to mass immigration, and he strongly supports national sovereignty. As Samuel Francis has written, Peroutka “is a charming and decent man of deep convictions and principle, has a ready grasp of the principles he supports and knows how to explain them.”

As it happens, *National Review* was founded 50 years ago next year. If anything, it looked like a quixotic effort at its birth. Yet 25 years later, Bill Buckley and his crew had managed to sweep Ronald Reagan into office. Peroutka’s presidential bid looks just as idealistic, perhaps even more so. What is a conservative Republican to do except send a message and, in the words of Buckley, yell “Stop” to runaway government?

Without big ideas, elections become about personalities—popularity contests, nothing more. Both major candidates are filching each others’ rhetoric and pandering. All that matters is the sell, not the content. Kerry is an opportunist *sans pareil*, Bush a man under the wrong influence. Vote for the real deal, Michael Anthony Peroutka. ■



# PAT BUCHANAN:

## “A CIVIL WAR IS GOING TO BREAK OUT INSIDE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.”

Photo Credit: William Sorenson

**Where the Right Went Wrong** has become one of the most talked-about books of the entire campaign year. Pat Buchanan, three-time presidential candidate, MSNBC commentator and bestselling author, offers a searing indictment of Beltway neo-conservatives.

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### **Buchanan**

#### **On Iraq:**

“We invaded a country that did not threaten us, did not attack us, and did not want war with us, to disarm it of weapons we have since discovered it did not have. **We may have ignited a war of civilizations it was in our vital interest to avoid.** Never has America been more resented and reviled in an Islamic world of a billion people.”

### **Buchanan**

#### **On George W. Bush:**

“By mid-2004, the president had failed to abolish a single significant agency, program, or department of a Leviathan government that consumes a fifth of our economy. As custodian of the national economy and decisive actor in the management of the Budget of United States, **George W. Bush has compiled a fiscal record of startling recklessness.**”

### **Buchanan**

#### **On “Today’s G.O.P.”:**

“The GOP may be Reaganite in its tax policy, but it is Wilsonian in its foreign policy, FDR in its trade policy, and LBJ all the way in its spending policies. Pragmatism is the order of the day. **The Republican philosophy might be summarized thus: To hell with principle; what matters is power, and that we have it, and that they do not.**”

### **Buchanan**

#### **On “Economic Treason”:**

“Every month of the first thirty-eight of George W. Bush’s presidency, manufacturing jobs disappeared... **The most awesome industrial machine the world has ever seen has been gutted....Free trade is a bright, shining lie.**”

### **Buchanan**

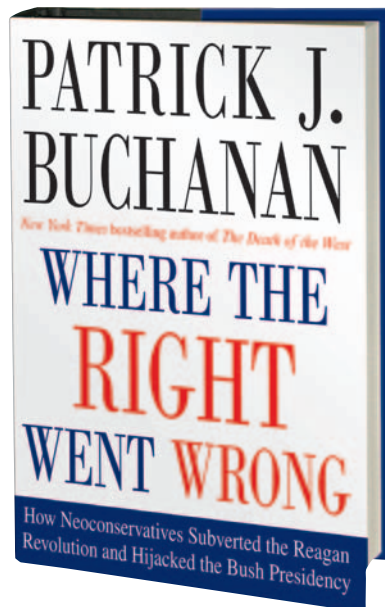
#### **On Religion and Politics:**

“Where LBJ funded community groups to build a power base in the cities independent of mayors, **George W. Bush plans to fund God’s Pork for ‘faith-based’ groups to enable Republicans to get a foot in the church door by making the pastor dependent on federal dollars.**”

### **Buchanan**

#### **On neo-Conservatism:**

“The neo-conservatives are not really conservatives at all. **They are all impostors and opportunists.**”



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